

THE ANDOVER REVIEW

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VOL. VI.—AUGUST, 1886.—No. XXXII.

THE THEOLOGICAL OPINIONS OF HORACE BUSH-
NELL AS RELATED TO HIS CHARACTER AND
CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE.

THERE is a class of Christian teachers who require that all formulated doctrine and all inward experience be cast in their individual mould, or in the mould of their respective schools, as the condition of being accepted as sound and worthy of confidence. This position is not only unchristian, — it is unphilosophical and absurd. It is also intensely egoistic, since it implies that these teachers put themselves forward as the standards according to which all right Christian thought and feeling must take shape. It is apparently forgotten that men are constituted differently. In some the reasoning faculties are more active and controlling; in others, the imagination. One man views truth more in the abstract; another in the concrete. The religion of A shows itself more prominently in the affections; that of B in integrity of life; while C will find his greatest attraction in acts of worship.

And then a man's spiritual history — the doubts which have disturbed him, and the struggles which have attended his search after truth — will tend to modify the view which he takes of the different articles of the creed, and of their relative importance and proportions. Augustine, who has made his approaches towards practical religion from amid the haunts of profligacy and the schools of a false philosophy, will be sure to formulate the Christian doctrine quite differently from a man like Martin Luther, who has come into the liberty of the gospel out of the bondage of Roman Catholic asceticism; while the experience of John Wesley, under the influences which acted upon him at the Epworth rectory, and while a student at Oxford University, has laid the foundations for a construction of some points in theology

which varies from that of either of them. No one, however, doubts the genuineness of the Christianity of the three representative men. As it respects the *essence* of the Christian doctrines they are at one. But when they come to rationalize these doctrines and put them into the formulas of their philosophy there is a falling apart, and the discord begins, — a discord which is likely to last until each is willing to let the other two, who hold the same truth substantially with himself, state that truth in the form truest to them personally.

It was my unspeakable privilege to form the acquaintance of Horace Bushnell early in the fifth year of his pastorate; and as the years went on, this acquaintance ripened into the freest intercourse and even intimacy. His modes of thought upon theological questions were at first a puzzle to me, so different were they from those in which my own mind worked from habit and under the guidance of the standard theologians, so called. And it was not till I had tasked my brain for some little time that I was able to swing myself around into the right mental position to see his points clearly. This experience led me into the exercise of a large charity towards those who complained of his obscurity. It was with me much as it had been sometimes when on entering a village or city I could not at once get my bearings. The spire of the church was to my eye in a direction opposite to that towards which I looked for it. The cardinal points seemed to have broken loose. North was south, and west was east, and bewilderment seized me in trying to thread my way. All at once the whole horizon gave a swing and every building and street resumed its proper place. Thus, after getting Dr. Bushnell's point of view, I could easily understand him and see his consistency with himself. And from this position I could also see that, while in respect to the philosophy of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement, he differed from the standard New England divines, he firmly held to the essence or substantial verity of these doctrines, and was entitled to stand within the boundaries of recognized orthodoxy. He was brought up on the staunch, sound theology dispensed in the church on New Preston Hill, Conn., and he could not be mistaken as to what it was. And I believe him to be perfectly sincere when he declares, in the volume "*God in Christ*" (page 11), "I seem to myself to assert nothing which is not *substantial* orthodoxy, — that which contains the *real moment* of all our orthodox formulas unabridged. I cannot see that there is really more of diversity between the views here advanced and those com-

monly accepted than there is between Paul and John, or Paul and James. And as it was right that each of these sacred writers should present his truth in the forms of his own life and experience, and so as to accord with the type of his own thinking habit, so I only seem to have asserted the great Christian truths held by our churches in forms truest to me, as they are likely to be to all who have been exercised by similar difficulties."

The design had in view in this paper does not lead me to discuss the excellences or faults of Dr. Bushnell's character generally, whatever these may be; nor to express my assent to or dissent from his peculiar views, except so far as it may come in my way to do so. I speak as an expounder, not as a eulogist or a critic. And it is here acknowledged in advance, that if any mistakes are made in this exposition, the writer is to be justly held responsible for them, and not the distinguished theologian whose views are under examination.

In the first place, as a help to the understanding of his theological tendencies and position as related to his character and his Christian experience, I advert to what may be termed *the basal elements of his spiritual nature*; I mean those characteristic qualities or traits with which God endowed him, and which, through early training and environment, exercised control over all his mental activities. I name three of these subsoil qualities, to which must be largely credited the individuality of his thinking, and the fruits of the same as ripened into opinions and habitudes of feeling.

1. There stands distinctly in the foreground his *great imagination*. I do not use this term in the exact sense of the school text-books, but rather in that which he himself attaches to it. It is that power of the human soul which *reads and understands God's thoughts as bodied forth in the material world*, — the power which perceives the invisible things of God, through the things that are made, or through their images, even his eternal power and Godhead, together with all connected moral and spiritual truths. It is a form of insight, and is an element of faith itself. It is that which made Socrates even with little scholarship and Bunyan with no scholarship *God's seers*, — adepts in a wisdom which mere learning could not impart. The imagination has an *interpretative* power, interpreting God's meaning in the works of Creation and Redemption, or through mental images which we form of these works, and opening the door into his

secret thoughts. And again, it is a power of *expression*. The mind having gotten hold of these moral and spiritual meanings, the imagination, by a reverse process, clothes them again in material forms or figures, so that, through this medium, they may be conveyed to other minds. Now from childhood Dr. Bushnell was a keen and accurate observer. Whether it was a diversified landscape, or the starry heavens, a human face, a picture, or an edifice, a growing tree or a piece of mechanism, he took in a distinct impression of it, — its shape, color, dimensions, and proportions. And when the occasion offered, its image stored up in his mind leaped forth with ready spontaneity to become analogically a word-vehicle of some profound spiritual truth.

This faculty seemed to lie dormant in him, till he was just on the verge of professional life. Driven almost to desperation by logical difficulties with respect to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement, and even the very existence of God, in his fierce struggles for extrication he burst open a door into this higher or imaginative nature, through which the very light of heaven streamed down into the dark prison of his bondage. Springing upwards in the ecstasy of a glad surprise through this door, he entered a hitherto unknown chamber of his being all luminous with spiritual verities and the revealings of faith, to go no more out forever. The age of complete virility had now arrived; and he became, as by a bound, the Horace Bushnell whose name the Christian world holds to-day in highest honor. His views of the function of the imagination in theology and practical religion are clearly set forth in one of the ablest of his essays, entitled "Our Gospel a Gift to the Imagination."

2. Another quality that lay at the very base of his nature was his *supreme devotion to truth*. I mean truth in its widest sense, intellectual, moral, spiritual, — truth in words, truth in business and social life. He said to a dear friend, near the close of his life, in respect to the testimonies which were coming to him of his helpfulness to other minds, that "the only ground of satisfaction he had, as it regarded himself, was the consciousness that he loved truth and had tried to find it out." This love of truth was a perfect flame of enthusiasm. What an explorer he was in all great questions pertaining to the home, the church, and the state, to education and the industrial arts, to the prosperity and adornment of the city where he dwelt, and especially to theology and practical religion! And what immense piles of rubbish were accumulated under his hands, as he stripped off from the fair form of

truth the shams, and falsehoods, and disguises, and cunningly devised masks with which she was wrapped about and disfigured! He has done in some other directions what his imagination at first and afterwards his influence and arguments did in the transformation of an unsightly and miasmatic piece of ground, lying in the middle of the city of Hartford, into a park most beautiful and health-giving, the pride and joy of the citizens.

Great as was his enthusiasm in the pursuit of truth, it was chastened by docility and patience. His aim and prayer were to hold himself in integrity, — perfectly open to the teachings of truth, — never to decide any question by his prepossessions and his will, nor on the authority of a great name. And it is especially worthy of note that he would not go an inch beyond what the truth, as clearly recognized, warranted. The gist of his alleged heresy in respect to the Trinity lay in his refusal to affirm three metaphysical personalities in the interior substance of the Godhead. He was open to suggestions from persons of the humblest grade. There was something wonderful, almost sublime, in his patience, by which he could bridle his fiery spirit and quietly wait until his knotty questions, of their own accord, opened to him their solutions. And when, under this process, the solutions came, clearing away obscurities, and giving his mind rest, is it at all surprising that he should accept them as gifts from God himself, or that he should affirm, what has been an offense to many, that in forming his views he seemed to have had only about the same agency that he had in preparing the blood he circulated, and the anatomic frame he occupied? "They are not my choice or invention," he says, "so much as a necessary growth, whose process I can hardly trace myself."

These considerations do not prove him to have been infallible; but they furnish evidence of his integrity in the pursuit of truth. And it is worth noticing that when providentially called upon, in 1848, to speak upon the subjects of the Trinity and the Atonement, he did not claim that his exposition of these great themes covered the whole ground. Possibly, like the blind man whose eyes Christ touched, he only "saw men as trees walking." But for the time being, his duty was done if he reported the truth so far as he had found it, and then he modestly added with regard to the Trinity what substantially he said of the Atonement: "There may be more in the doctrine than this, which let others declare when they find it." Further light did come to him, the arrival of which he was glad to announce, though it was a confession that

his earlier views were so far forth partial or incomplete. On my suggesting to him, at the time, that if he lived longer he might have still further revelations, he expressed himself as intensely desirous to enlarge the scope of his vision as fast as the clouds lifted.

3. I name next as a marked characteristic quality of Dr. Bushnell one that will scarcely be recognized by those who only knew him as a strong thinker, an eloquent writer, or a theological explorer, namely, *a great soul-full of love*. He was not at all demonstrative. He partook of that striking feature of New England rural life, — a disposition to repress the outward manifestations of deep feeling, so that one must know him well to understand what a wealth of tenderest, sweetest affection was stored up in his nature. The sentimentalism of love he could not away with; effusiveness was disagreeable; while the overspill of gush was unpardonably offensive.

As I bring him to mind now, taking, as I am able, the whole impression of the man, it enforces itself upon my judgment that he possessed no quality which in volume exceeded his capacity of love. It was a luminous revelation of himself when he said, "It is the *strongest* want of my being, to love." How love sweetened his domestic life! Literature can hardly duplicate such letters as he wrote to his wife, — unstudied, tender, chaste, full of grace and of open fellowship with a kindred soul. "My father," says his biographer, "was largest and most ideal to those who knew him in the nearness of family life and love." His great tenderness "was unexpressed and inexpressible." Outside of his home, those who came within the circle of his personal friendship — his parishioners, and the brethren of his ministerial Association — were drawn to him by a strange power of fascination, which, when analyzed, was seen to be not so much his quaint humor, his intellectual discernment and strength, or the playfulness and luminousness of his discourse, as it was his deep affectional nature, which unconsciously beamed out in all he said and did. We ministers admired him and honored him; but more than that, — we spontaneously paid homage to his love by a heartily responsive love. True, sometimes he blurted out in a brusque and seemingly rough fashion a thought that struck him, which did keen execution upon the opinions of some listener. But it was only an explosion of a truth which could not wait for gentle utterance, — perfectly good-natured, and without any slightest intent to wound another's feelings.

And towards those who opposed and denounced him he could be sharp in argument and retort, but he cherished no bitterness. I was much with him during those times of sorest trial, and, in my hearing, no uncharitable word against those who were hounding him as a heretic escaped his lips. Almost the only severe thing I ever heard him utter against a human being was when coming out of a book-store he said to me in reference to a man with whom I had just been conversing, "That man is a living lie,"—for which seemingly harsh judgment, as I subsequently learned, there were some good reasons. No one can read his correspondence with Dr. Hawes, so full as it was of tender and earnest pleading for a reconciliation, without being impressed with the strength of his yearnings for an unobstructed outflow of his love. The apostle tells us that "God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God and God in him." As Dr. Bushnell's years drew on, he seemed to know more and more what this divine indwelling was. All the resources of love in his great heart were lavished, as was the ointment of Mary, on his Lord. He was transfigured in the glow of it. He writes to his wife from Warren, Conn., in 1870:—

"I never so saw God, never had Him come so broadly, clearly out. . . . O my God! What a fact to possess and know,—that He is! I have not seemed to compare Him with anything, and set Him in any higher value; but He has been the *all*; the altogether, the everywhere lovely. . . . I never thought I could possess God so completely. What is to come of it? Something good, I hope."¹

Was it not this participation of the divine, through faith and love, which lubricated his faculties for easy and effective movement,—which gave him such a fund of vital force to battle so long and so bravely with the wear of opposition and the progress of disease,—which made him so comprehensive in his Christianity, and so solicitous that its breaches should be healed, and which stimulated his faith to keep open and clear his vision of spiritual things?

We have now reached the critical point of our subject, and the pivotal question which we shall try to answer is, *By what principle did he test the truth and value of a professedly Christian doctrine?* What was that necessary element in a doctrinal statement or formulated view of truth, the absence of which required

¹ *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell*, p. 516.

him to reject it as having no claims to his acceptance, if not as being positively false? The simple answer is, It must be a doctrine *to live by*; not a speculation, not a piece of framework which nicely fits into a theological system, not a beautifully worded or shrewdly-phrased proposition possessing a logical value, and good for fencing bouts with doubters. It must be firstly, secondly, on to lastly, *vitally practical*; proving its truth not only by its apparent accordance with Scripture, but by its adaptation to meet the soul's needs, to quicken the spiritual perceptions and activities, to open the way to God, and thus to help, to heal, and to fructify, — in his own language, to “serve the true uses of life.” This is “the only test of truth.” As the Lord said of the Sabbath, he believed that Christian doctrine was made for man, and not man for the doctrine. He thus reverses the commonly accepted principle in respect to the relation between Christian doctrine and experience, which teaches, first clear up your mind as to the doctrine, and then you will have sure footing on which you can set forward in the doing of your duty and the fashioning of your character. His starting point was at the opposite pole. He began by asking: —

“Have I ever consented to be, and am I really now, in the right, as in principle and supreme law; to live for it; to make any sacrifice it will cost me; to believe everything that it will bring me to see; to be a confessor of Christ as soon as it is enjoined upon me; to go on a mission to the world's end if due conviction sends me; to change my occupation for good conscience' sake; to repair whatever wrong I have done to another; to be humbled, if I should, before my worst enemy; to do complete justice to God, and, if I could, to all worlds; in a word, to be in wholly right intent, and have no mind but this forever?”¹

In short, he sought to make it the controlling principle of his own inmost being, his ruling, constant, irrevocable purpose, to be perfectly pliant to God's will, so far as he knew it or could ascertain it; and in that pliancy to be kept in all closest companionship and communion with him, thus to be able to interpret God and teach his truth. He would decide no question by the head. He must first test it by a right sensibility and in practical experience. Take, for example, his wrestlings with the doctrine of the Trinity. His reason rejected it. Now mark how his doubts were dissolved. Addressing his fellow tutors in Yale College, one day, he cried out: “O men! what shall I do with these ar-

¹ *Life and Letters*, pp. 57, 58.

rant doubts I have been nursing for years? When the preacher touches the Trinity and when logic shatters it all to pieces, I am all at the four winds. But I am glad I have a heart as well as a head. My heart wants the Father; my heart wants the Son; my heart wants the Holy Ghost, and one just as much as the other. My heart says the Bible has a Trinity for me, and I mean to hold by my heart."¹

Here his method of testing a doctrine is strikingly illustrated. It was not to be accepted simply because orthodoxy required it. *Is it a doctrine to live by?* If he could not see it to be good for the spiritual and practical life, in vain was it commended to his acceptance. He could not understand by his reason, as has been intimated, *how* there could be an immanent Trinity of Persons in the one divine Essence; neither could he so deeply explore the interior of the Godhead as to qualify him to deny that there was such a Trinity. Therefore he gave up the question as uninvestigable. The fact that the Persons, as revealed, helped him the better to apprehend God was a sufficient ground for his faith. As "instrumental Persons," having their practical uses for the religious life, he heartily received them, and there he rested in his inquiries, waiting patiently until further light should come. One of his strongest and most original contributions to theology was a paper upon this very subject, first printed in "The New-Englander," and afterwards republished in the volume, "Building Eras in Religion," entitled "The Christian Trinity, a Practical Truth."

The first sermon I ever heard him preach was the well-known one, in the "Sermons for the New Life," with the title, "Obligation not measured by our own Ability." It was early in the year 1838, the first year of my theological course, when, during a season of religious awakening in the Old Centre Church, I was in Hartford, assisting Dr. Hawes by holding neighborhood meetings among his young people, and conducting prayer-meetings. There was frequent preaching in the evening by invited ministers, one of whom was the pastor of the North Church. I distinctly remember how the announcement of his theme startled me, "Obligation not measured by our own Ability," — so directly opposed, as it was, to the teachings of the New Haven school on the subject of natural ability. Doctor Taylor used to thunder away on the proposition that "man is under obligation to obey God's will, because he has *full* natural ability to obey." "True," he would add,

¹ *Life and Letters*, p. 56.

"the sinner never will obey without imparted power from the Holy Spirit. But the Spirit's aid is necessary only because the sinner *will not* obey, not for any lack of ability." With this theology the belief and preaching of Dr. Hawes fully accorded. Hence he was greatly disturbed by the doctrine of Bushnell's sermon, regarding it as discouraging to inquirers. Now the reason why Bushnell could not accept the New Haven view is perfectly obvious. It did not stand his test of Christian doctrine. It was not true to the life; it was true only to mere speculation. Tell a man, You have full ability of your own to obey the gospel command, and in the same breath tell him he cannot, or what is practically the same, that *he will not* obey, unless God does something more for him than he has already done, the ability which you affirm really amounts to nothing. It furnishes no help or encouragement to the doing of one's duty. It is not practical. Instead of that, Dr. Bushnell says, frankly, "You, as a sinner, have no ability of your own to make you a new heart." "Why, then," you ask, "am I under the obligation of this change?" "Because, if you sincerely desire this change, and put yourself in position to receive it, God is able and willing to effect it." Were the disciples under obligation to distribute the five loaves and two small fishes to the hungry thousands at the Master's command? They had no ability of their own to make the food go around and satisfy the urgent need. Was the man with the withered hand under obligation to stretch it out at Christ's bidding? The answer is, Yes, on the ground that the command implied the promise of the bestowment of that ability which obedience required. This accords with the theological maxim of the Latin Fathers: *Da quod jubes; jube quod vis*. If God will give what he commands, then let him command what he will.

Dr. Bushnell's constitutional bent or tendency was to subject every doctrine to the test of his speculative reason. After he came into the full liberty of the Spirit he sought freedom from the rationalistic method. But it is easy to see that in spite of his efforts the old habit was loth to let go its hold. Indeed, he regarded this method as perfectly justifiable, when dealing with doctrinal opponents or infidel objectors, in conformity with the wise man's maxim: "Answer a fool according to his folly." His aim, however, was not to rationalize the truth in his teachings, but to spiritualize, or, if I may use the expression, practicalize it. His ideal definition of Christian doctrine was FORMULATED
CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE.

What he had learned from his own experience, for example, of the real elements of power in the Christian household was embodied in his matchless Discourses on Christian Nurture, which I am inclined, with Dr. Bartol, to regard as "his most important contribution to the church." Touching with a master's hand the secret springs of plastic young life, these sermons have a far-seeing, prophetic look towards that on which the future progress and triumph of the church mainly depend.

His wife writes: "The year 1848 was the central point in the life of Horace Bushnell. It was a year of great experiences, great thoughts, great labors. At its beginning he had reached one of those headlands where new discoveries open to the sight. He had approached it through mental struggles, trials, and practical endeavor, keeping his steadfast way amid all the side-attractions of his ceaseless mental activity." On an early morning in February his wife awoke to hear that the light they had waited for had risen indeed. She asked, "What have you seen?" He replied, "The gospel."¹ As he afterwards explained the revelation then made: "I seemed to pass a boundary. I had never been very legal in my Christian life, but now I passed from those partial seeings, glimpses, and doubts into a clearer knowledge of God and into his inspirations, which I have never wholly lost. The change was into faith, a sense of the freeness of God and the ease of approach to him."² The new experimental views now obtained of the Person of Christ, of the Trinity, of the Atonement, and of the kind of Reviving needed by the Church, were expounded and given to the public in the three Discourses and the preliminary Dissertation on Language which make up the volume "God in Christ."

What had troubled him most in respect to the theology of the Person of Christ was the doctrine of *two distinct or distinctly active natures* which orthodoxy ascribed to him. It was taught that Christ, in his earthly history, in some cases acted *as a man*, and in other cases *as God*. This twofold classification confused the thoughts of believers and disturbed the repose of their faith. By his new experience, Dr. Bushnell was brought into an attitude in which Christ became to him the one undivided Saviour, the identification of the human and the divine. He dismissed, as utterly impertinent, all theorizing with respect to the contents of Christ's interior composite nature, or as to how the apparently impossible identification of the divine and the human was effected.

¹ *Life and Letters*, pp. 191, 192.

² *Life and Letters*, p. 192.

Christ was to be taken simply for what he expressed of God, — "Immanuel, God with us;" "God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." In him, God was humanized to our conceptions. That was the true and all-sufficient meaning of the Incarnation.

With regard to *the Atonement*, while he held to the necessity of propitiation, he rejected the element of penal satisfaction, which substitutes the pains of innocence for the punishment due to wrong, as being of the essence of injustice. So much suffering endured by Christ for the sinner, in lieu of so much remitted to the sinner; or such an amount of abhorrence of sin expressed in the cross as a compensation for an equivalent amount which would have been expressed had men perished, — he could not accept it. It was artificial, an ingenious but unsupported device of school logic, a measuring of God's grace by mathematical equations. It was untrue to Christian experience. His own exposition of the nature and moment of Christ's work, as given in the Discourses, I will not here trace out. It seemed to satisfy his own mind at the time. A few years later his explorations let him further into the subject. And my impressions are that had he lived to the age of nine hundred and sixty and nine years, and continued his studies in this direction, his new thoughts would have stocked a library of no small capacity. The amount of all which is this, — that the drama of redemption, if I may call it such, which it took thousands of years for God to enact, cannot possibly, on his theory, be included in any brief definitions or formulas of human construction. Almost any six theologians, who have passed through different experiences, will embrace in their respective definitions that which in the doctrine is most true to them personally. Each definition will consequently be partial, and the best rounded view of the doctrine will take them all in. And even after we have done our best in the way of formulation, the Scriptural facts and metaphors, and our own experience, will tell us infinitely more than we have put into our propositions.

By one who examines, analytically, Dr. Bushnell's theological opinions and practical religious teachings it is seen that his views revolve, for the most part, around three fundamental tenets or principles. These are: (1) *The true knowledge of God* through an immediate conscious communion with Him; (2) *God's character*, a blending of sternest righteousness with the tenderest love; and (3) *God's character, as expressed in his works of Providence*

and Redemption, *the power* by which men are recovered from sin and saved. So far as he may be said to have had a system of theology this is the summation of its more fundamental articles. A brief consideration of these three points will serve to illustrate further and in detail the relation between his doctrinal views and his character and religious experience.

1. The doctrine of an *Immediate Personal Knowledge of God*. Man was made to have just such an immediate knowledge of God as he has of himself, that is, to be conscious of God. Sin closes up this consciousness, the re-opening of which is conditioned upon faith, or the hearty surrender of the soul to God. Here we have what in his view distinguishes every true believer. Here we have the evidence of the new birth. Men naturally know a good many things *about* God, when they do not know God personally. They see the magnitude of his works, the wisdom, power, and love displayed in them. But this kind of knowledge does not reach in to their spiritual nature. It is an outside knowledge. They know *about* God just as they know about London, about the depths of the ocean, about the planet Saturn. It is knowledge by inference or report. Some men seem to be blind even to this kind of knowledge, or they profess to be. They speak of God as "The Unknowable," and call themselves, "Agnostics." They appear to have no conception of faith as an interior sensing power by which God may be more truly known than external objects are known by the bodily senses.

Take a practical illustration. Here is a soul that has come into a state of Christian trust. What is signified in this transaction? An entirely new relation to God? How is this relation certified to that soul? Having been made originally to be filled, moved, and vitalized by the divine, and having suffered the terrible experience of God's abandonment by reason of its sin, the desecrated temple now opens to the incoming of God, who bears full witness to his own personal presence. It is not simply that the believer *infers* this presence from the love and peace which accompany the transaction, nor on account of the newly experienced readiness to do God's will. Such inferences are legitimate. But the trusting soul goes beyond these inferential testimonies. It has a knowledge more immediate and personal, which needs no process of reasoning for its certification. This doctrine of a direct knowledge of God was the only one which in Dr. Bushnell's judgment harmonized with his own experience. To question it was to question what he felt assured God had done for him.

It requires only a slight examination to see what a wide sweep this principle has when applied to the Christian doctrines. Taking this for a premise, What is *Sin*? It is the loss of this consciousness of God and of the necessary conditions of it. What is *Faith*? It is an opening of the door to the entrance of a knowledge of God. What is *Regeneration*? It is essentially the installation of this consciousness in the soul. What is *Love*? It is the reciprocation of it by the regenerated heart. What are *Peace* and *Joy*? They are the sweet luxury that attend its presence. What is *Sanctification*? It is the growth of this immediate knowledge towards completeness. What is *Obedience*? It is the free, spontaneous activity which is prompted by knowing God. What is *Hope*? It is the blessed anticipation of knowing "even as we are known."

2. I pass now to the second principle upon which Dr. Bushnell based much that was peculiar in his theology, namely, *The blending in the character of God of the tenderest love with exact righteousness*. He believed in God's omnipotent energy and sovereignty. But in his experience and teaching the *force-principle* in God had little or no prominence in matters pertaining to the religious life. The purely *moral elements* could alone represent the ideal and satisfy the wants of his loving and truthful soul. From the moment that he entered upon the new life, as the issue of that terrible struggle with unbelief which occurred during his tutorship in Yale College, he never seemed to have entertained a question as to the perfect love and righteousness, the glorious beauty and excellence of the divine character and government. They were all right and beautiful and perfect every way. No most loving son ever leaned more trustingly upon a human father, or entertained a more sensitive jealousy of a father's reputation, than did he in respect to his divine Father. Knowing God by a personal conscious knowledge, how could he entertain a doubt as to the wisdom and perfection of his administration? Trials from the abandonment of friends, from relentless opposition, from attempted prosecution for heresy, from failing health and physical weakness and pain, could not for one moment shake his confidence or sour the cup of his joy. What an experience does it disclose, that such a book as that on the "Moral Uses of Dark Things" could have been written! "Want," and "Pain," and "Things Unseen," and "Plague," and "Insanity," and "The Mutabilities of Life,"—these are all right. Forbidding as are the look and endurance of these so-called evils, they are

wisely and kindly permitted, and they have high moral uses of righteousness and blessing. Even the lapse of man into sin subjects him to a discipline which is necessary to his ultimate confirmation in holiness. Virtue, to be complete, must be won by a conflict with evil. And then it is worthy of note that very many of Bushnell's practical sermons are designed to vindicate God's dealings and to inspire trust. We have such titles as these: "Light in the Cloud," "Obligation a Privilege," "Liberty and Discipline," "The Dissolving of Doubts," "A Single Trial better than Many," "Routine Observance Indispensable," "Our Advantage in being Finite," and so on. Themes of this character find a place also in his more labored productions.

It will be observed that God's goodness does not stand, in his view, in the communication to his creatures of mere happiness, or of more happiness than pain. He considered existence without sacrifice and the bearing of burdens and toil for beneficent ends to be worthless, and even a curse. God's love in its perfection is love in self-sacrifice; indeed, all real love is unselfishly vicarious, or it is nothing. There was a cross in the very heart of God before it was seen on Calvary; and Calvary was but the atoning death of the Lamb that was slain from the foundation of the world. The preparations had all been made, and the yearning cross-bearing heart of God was here laid open to assure the lost ones that salvation was ready, and to win them to accept the grace which from the beginning of the world had been hid, but was now manifested.

But while God's tender love, burdened with the sins and woes of men, constituted the theme of so large a portion of Dr. Bushnell's writings, this love was not presented as a let-go principle. It had blended with it, as required by unswerving truth and rectitude, a certain heat of righteous resentment towards evil-doing and evil-doers. It was taught that a sturdy exact righteousness followed sin here with fearful consequences of loss and pain and bitter remorse, which, if the sin was not forsaken and repented of, culminated hereafter in "the wrath of the Lamb." Love and Righteousness, or Grace and Truth, — these are the two poles of God's character, around which group themselves the other divine perfections. Love disturbs the repose of sin with physical calamities for righteousness' sake. Love bears its vicarious burden in order to win to righteousness. Offended love, at the last, hands over the incorrigible to the doom which truth and righteousness demand and approve.

3. Once more, *The character and feeling of God, as expressed in the works of providence and redemption, especially in the incarnate life and sufferings of Christ, constitute the power by which men are recovered from sin, quickened in a new life, and saved.* Dr. Bushnell's ideal of character was of the highest, and if he was tempted to worship anything impersonal, here was to be found his idol. How this came to pass may be conjectured from the glimpses which are given us of his early home life, though these are few and limited. There was something hidden in the temper and spirit of the mother that may account, in large measure, for the trait spoken of. He says of her:—

"She was the only person I have known in the close intimacy of years who never did an inconsiderate thing that required afterwards to be mended. In this attribute of discretion, she rose even to a kind of sublimity. . . . Her religious duties and graces were also cast in this mood,—not sinking their flavors in it, but having it raised to an element of superior, almost divine perception. Thus praying earnestly for and with her children, she was discreet enough never to make it unpleasant to them by too great frequency. . . . No child of us ever strayed so far as not to find himself early in a way of probable discipleship."¹

The simple method by which she turned off his purpose from the study of the law to that of divinity is almost matchless in its wisdom. The germs of his discourses on "Christian Nurture," and of that on "Mary the Mother of Jesus," are doubtless to be found in the impressions derived from his home life.

Entertaining, as he did, such high conceptions of the simple power of character, as consisting in the union of love and righteousness and susceptible as he was to its influence, he could not but utterly disrespect any agency lower than itself in theological schemes for man's spiritual renovation. If God's character as expressed either in its sterner aspects by inflictions of loss or suffering, and through prohibitory or condemnatory law, or in its gentler approaches as appealing to the tender sensibilities of our nature, has no power to arrest the downward course of sin and quicken to a new life, then the case is hopeless. It is a degradation put upon the gospel to contrive sensational and artificial and mechanical methods for man's recovery and salvation. The *force-principle* in every shape is to be discarded. As has been already intimated, he could not accept the theory of penal compensation in the doctrine of the Atonement. The mighty power of God's

¹ *Life and Letters*, pp. 28, 29.

character and feeling as expressed in the incarnate life and death of his Son, and the propitiation for sin thus made, with the appropriate accompanying agencies thereby set in operation, were all-sufficient to effect a spiritual renewal; and he thought that he could find in the Scriptures nothing further asserted as needful. Neither could he believe in any ictic force in the operations of the Holy Spirit. He was an earnest believer in the power of the Spirit on the heart. But it was a moral power, — a bringing to bear directly upon the soul the significance of the divine grace and truth as displayed in the work of Christ, a power which, when wielded by the Spirit, was new-creative and transforming. Thus conceived, it was a power perfectly consistent with man's moral nature: not a force bolted in upon the soul, but rather an agency toning up to their normal action the otherwise inactive faculties of feeling and choice in respect to the divine claims.

For similar reasons, the notion of a visibly personal Second Advent of Christ was repulsive to him. It implied a distrust of the renovating power of the gospel, as an expression of God's character, and a forelooking towards some mighty sign or wonder that shall carry the hearts of the world by storm.

So, also, he looked upon revivals of religion with a good deal of apprehension, and at times even with distrust. He believed that such quickenings might occur, and ought to occur, in a normal way; and if so, might be welcomed as divinely legitimate methods of Christian progress. But as he often saw them conducted, there appeared to him so much of machine work and sensationalism and superficiality, that he was quite cautious with regard to efforts for their promotion. *The True Reviving of Religion*, of which he speaks in his famous Andover Discourse, is to be marked by more of comprehensiveness in doctrine and fellowship, more of spirituality in the aims, more of beauty in the life and example, and more of constancy in Christian progress than that with which the churches seem to be now so well satisfied.

It is thus seen, if I am right, how wide and controlling were Dr. Bushnell's experimental views of the simple power of character upon his theology. It was the pivot upon which his spiritual life, his teachings and his labors turned, that the renovation of individual souls and of the world was to be effected by the concrete, all penetrating truth of the divine character as expressed in Creation and Providence, and especially in the incarnation, words, sufferings and death of the Lord Jesus Christ and as applied to the heart by the Holy Spirit. In other words, it was held that there is

a grand stock character in God which is, and is to be, the spring and source of all right character in men. Christ is the propitiation for our sins, inasmuch as in his sacrifice God is seen putting himself to extreme cost to effect a reconciliation between himself and sinners, thus to soften their obduracy, creating in them an impression of God's rectitude and the sanctity of his law, and thus a felt want of forgiveness; the legitimate result of which is the renewing them in righteous character. The divine law suffers no dishonor, but is thoroughly vindicated and reconsecrated in the acceptance through faith of this propitiation. Justification is the "making righteous him that believeth, — every one, that is, whose heart is opened by faith to the possible reception of God's character. It is that which takes away our condemnation; setting us in confidence with God, by setting God in upon us, in such transforming power that we become new-charactered in righteousness." Thus through all our life on earth, and the life that is to come, we have and can have no goodness of our own. It must all come from the fountal source of God's perfect love and righteousness. Faith lets in the inspirational force of his transcendent beauty and excellence, and in Him alone we are to live and move and have our spiritual being, now, henceforth, and forevermore.

A. S. Chesebrough.

SAYBROOK, CONN.

POLITICAL ECONOMY, OLD AND NEW.

AT no time has political economy received more or more earnest attention than now. In universities and colleges it surpasses for popularity almost every other discipline. Hardly a second academic instructor on earth addresses so large classes as Roscher at Leipzig. If he has a peer or a near rival it must be Wagner, of Berlin, a professor in the same branch. Dr. Schoenberg, of Tübingen, found it not difficult of late to associate with himself, in creating his massive hand-book of the science, twenty-one economists of national reputation, without by any means exhausting the list of such.

In Great Britain, if death has removed during the last years economic *virtuosi* like Mill, Cairnes, Bagehot, Cliffe Leslie, Jevons, and Fawcett, their writings remain, with influence scarcely diminished, while Thorold Rogers, Sidgwick, Marshall, Ingram, and, nowise least, Mrs. Fawcett, — these, and a host of their rising adjutants, still live and work.

New publications upon economic topics crowd the press in all civilized lands. A score of thick periodicals are devoted to economic discussion. General and popular reviews give up to the same an increasing proportion of their pages. Histories of economics and economic histories have been written. Others are under way. And as for our own country, in addition to all that was doing before, last September witnessed the birth, at Saratoga, of a new society — the American Economic Association — designed expressly for the furtherance of knowledge and of work in this great department.

But agreement in principle among these zealous *savans* is in something like inverse proportion to the mass of their activity. For a very general description there may be said to exist an old school and a new, each with its right, left, and centre.¹ Regarding minor questions there is difference enough within any one of these groups, while, were we to judge from certain recent utterances, the two schools would appear to agree in very little save their common claim to represent the science. The sequel may show that this dissidence has been exaggerated,² but there is no question that it is wide.

The old school, — *a priori*, if any one will; we shall see how much this means, — there being referred to it all the economists who may be fairly accounted followers of Adam Smith, is numerically as yet in the van. Even in Germany it is by no means dead or dying; it still holds its own in England and America; in Italy and France it is dominant. Of course the scholars classed here walk after Adam Smith with open eyes, announcing it without reserve whenever, as often, they think him wandering from the path. In fact, if they are ranked with him this must be taken to mean only that they retain his basal principles and his general conception of the science.

It is obviously not possible to enumerate with exactness the writers belonging in this category, but their number is greater than is sometimes represented. One may observe a tendency on the part of several newer reporters to reckon all the economists who, like Cossa, Jevons, Thorold Rogers, Yves Guyot, and F. A. Walker, think for themselves, and use fresh and original methods, particularly if they have large recourse to history and statistics,

¹ The not infrequent contrast between the "English" and the "German" school has little appropriateness at present.

² F. A. Walker, *Pol. Econ.*, 13, takes Cairnes's to be a most felicitous exposition of the anti-Ricardian view. I believe that Ricardo would have subscribed to every word of it.

as of the new school. This is misleading. In regard to those fundamental tenets where its foes find at once the deepest character and the total depravity of old political economy, these authors hold substantially the received views. Cossa, for instance, speaks of the "pure science" of political economy, in which "laws" have place, "natural and not positive, psychological and not physical," developed partly indeed inductively, but partly also by "deduction;" and he grounds his explicit non-concurrence in Knies's notion of the science upon his conviction that "certain natural tendencies of man and of society have been, are, and always will be, the same."¹ With as little propriety can Jevons, Walker, Yves Guyot, or Rogers be said, on the whole, to have deserted the orthodox alignment.

"Smithianism" is thus a sort of broad church, wherein may be professed the utmost range of views upon all doctrines save the apostle's creed. No two of its adherents agree in details. They differ widely, for one thing, as to the degree in which economics should be declared to possess scientific character. Some exalt its theoretical side more, others its practical. There is disagreement upon the question whether wealth, or whether exchange, ought to be made the central conception of the science. Concerning the relation of population and subsistence, Malthus has his critics and his defenders. So has Ricardo in the matter of rent. Various points of monetary theory produce division. Mono-metallists oppose bi-metallists, as do advocates of the currency principle those of the banking principle. The wage theory is another separatrix,—one party conceiving the wages of labor under a given contract to be drawn from store of capital hoarded before the contract, the other from the product of the labor itself. These distinctions, though unfortunately not the grounds or the deeper meaning of them, are sufficiently familiar.

Partly the same, and certainly no less numerous, differences prevail among the anti-Smithians. They unite, indeed, for the most part only negatively, in opposing the "apriorists," as they call them. Yet here and there *nuclei* can be discovered which are centres of unity in a positive way. It may be well now to enter somewhat more into detail.

First, there is the historical tendency, as the chief originators of which Knies and Roscher may be named. Knies is its best representative, having done more than Roscher even to lay the

¹ Luigi Cossa: *Primi Elementi di Economia Politica*, chaps. i. and ii. Milano, 1881; also his *Guide to the Study of Political Economy*. London, 1880.

foundations of the view. Roscher, whose exposition of principles continually recalls Adam Smith and Mill, has rendered it service rather by furnishing historical illustrations.

Much confusion prevails respecting the nature of this movement. Nearly all who have written upon it, misled by the phrase "historical method," and perhaps having read only Roscher, not Knies, evidently suppose the kernel of what these authors propose to lie merely in the use of economic history as means of economic investigation and exposition. A number of these and of other witnesses speak of the historical school as denying to economics all scientific character.

For the last there is partial justification. A few economists, like de Laveleye, think themselves expounding the historical view in representing political economy as but phase and parcel of the history and the *Cultur*-history of nations, pure affair of time, place, development, — almost, it would seem, of chance. The propriety of calling it a veritable science, at any rate, they gainsay. One does not reach their difficulty by admitting that the laws of economics are inductive, not *a priori*. Its so-called laws are, in their view, not laws at all; they are nothing more than temporary maxims, valid now, but soon to be outgrown; good here, but good for nothing there. Those who give this description, however, do not represent the school.

Knies and Roscher denominate political economy a science and ascribe to it laws. Roscher, indeed, speaks freely of its "natural laws." Knies does not favor this diction, for fear that "natural laws" will be taken to mean the same in economics as in the sciences of nature. "Actual laws of nature," his exposition runs, "in the universally recognized sense of the natural sciences, are in question only when and so far as we are dealing with investigations into the character and manifestations of things corporeal and subject to sense-perception. The object of investigation in economic matters is, on the contrary, result of a mental activity, incorporeal, not perceptible through sense, going on in the personal factor, in the human being with a soul; . . . and this mental element in its economic manifestation behaves itself not at all in the manner of corporeal things, to which 'natural law' relates, as something everywhere the same, and always remaining the same. . . . We have to do here rather with phenomena which may be placed side by side with 'functions' in mathematics, as velocity (for example) is a function of motion and time." ¹

¹ *Pol. Oek.*, pp. 356, 358, Aufl. 1883. Cf. Schoenberg, *Handbuch der Pol. Oek.*, p. 16.

It is not alone for assimilating economic law too much to law in physics that old method in political economy is criticised by these writers; they make a far graver count against its "absolutism of theory," to use Knies's phrase. "By absolutism of theory," says he, "I mean the pretension (of the older authors) to be presenting something unconditioned, equally valid in the working out of politico-economic tasks for all times lands, and nationalities." The thought of such a general, universally applicable doctrinal system of economics he scorns. Every student who has sought to develop such he declares to have simply generalized the thoughts and conditions of his time and vicinity. A twofold error is thus committed: "cosmopolitism," or neglect of the economic differences subsisting between nations at a given time, and "perpetualism," ignoring economic development in time.

"Now," he says, "in opposition to this absolutism of theory, the historical view proceeds upon the principle that the theory of political economy, whatever its form, by whatever arguments and results arrived at, is product of historical development; that it grows up in living connection with the entire organism of a period in the life of humanity and of peoples, with and out of the given conditions of time, space, and nationality, consisting in these, and passing on with them to new developments; that even the 'general laws' of political economy are nothing but an historical explication, an advancing manifestation, of the truth, — present themselves at every step as a mere generalization of facts recognized up to that point, and cannot, as to either sum or formulation, be declared unconditionally complete; and that absolutism of theory, whenever it does display validity at a certain stage, is simply a child of that time, and characterizes but a particular period in the development of the science."¹

Some have imagined this species of economic thinking to be allied with the memorable historical renaissance in theology proceeding from F. C. Baur. The two are analogous, but apparently without vital tie. The historical apprehension of economics has a closer connection with the historical, realistic, anti-metaphysical theory of jurisprudence still greatly in vogue, of which Savigny, in his time, was champion-in-chief. In Germany political economy, as a branch of cameral science, has been kept in affinity with the study of law rather than with that of the arts. But even such a relationship explains neither the rise nor the nature of the economic fashion we are examining.

¹ *Pol. Oek.*, p. 24.

One cannot read Knies without being impressed that he at any rate is, consciously or not, dominated in his thinking as an economist by the spirit of the positive philosophy. He applies to political economy virtually the canons and the method of Comte's sociology.¹ While, therefore, he will, in a way, speak of principles and laws, he cannot ascribe to the science absolute or permanent principles, *principia* proper, or a scientific nature in the sense of the old metaphysics. In the social body, as in the universe at large, nothing abides strictly in the *status quo*. Flux prevails. Evolution is, indeed, an absolute law, but there is no other absolute law. The dynamics of society, hitherto almost entirely neglected by economists, ought to be studied with no less devotion than statics. All history is to be turned to account. And whether we investigate the statical or the dynamical aspect of our subject-phenomena, *a posteriori* modes of work — observation, experiment, induction — must be our main resource, deduction and *a priori* construction being strictly subordinated to these. Finally, as the student is obliged to start with relative truths, so he must satisfy himself at the end with conditional, not absolute, solutions.

More uncompromising foes of the classical political economy are the Socialists. They are also at present more aggressive and victorious. Their polemic, however, has a radically different basis. They do not object to theory, nay, their theory is their stronghold. A premise with them, cherished and prolific, is that labor, and labor alone, causes wealth, — almost precisely Adam Smith's position, — and their proof here consists of Adam Smith's very arguments. Nor do they believe in any "new order of ages" to come, wherein this statement of the origin of wealth will cease to hold good. What they antagonize in the current idea is its alleged ascription of sanctity to industrial liberty, *laissez-faire*. Here, too, they argue, though not this time with Adam Smith's logic, but with Ricardo's. Let free contract determine wages, and, they aver, the laborer, who, according to Adam Smith, has created all wealth, will get none of it. He will be simply kept, like a dray-horse, from starvation and freezing. Should wages ever happen to rise somewhat, and thus to afford comfort rather than bare subsistence, population would increase, and therewith competition also, again lowering the wage-rate. On the other hand, if some

¹ We have it from Knies himself (*Pol. Oek.*, 83, p. 516) that when he wrote his first edition (1852) the *Cours de philosophie positive* was entirely unknown to him. But its ideas had been in the air ever since Kant.

workers starve, competition is less sharp, and wages rise till starvation ceases. This, Lassalle taught, is, under free competition, the "iron law of wages." Free competition shall, therefore, not determine wages; society shall do it, on ethical principles.

Socialism has been gravely misunderstood, and it is well that attention is each moment more and more concentrated upon it. Some may perhaps wonder that in an account like this it is even mentioned. Socialism is not, as is so commonly fancied, the breathing out of threatenings and slaughter by a senseless mob. If most of its devotees are ignorant, its lawgivers are thinkers. Since Rodbertus, whom Wagner cites approvingly on every other page, Socialism has been a doctrine challenging scientific examination. "Against its ideas," says Schaeffle, "only arguments, not musket-balls, can succeed."¹ Karl Marx's "*Kapital*" is placed among the ablest treatises that our science has produced.

Not less erroneous is the opinion that these men intend or desire the destruction of capital. Certain stupid Nihilists may wish that; genuine Socialists never. They see, as every one must who thinks, that capital is the very foundation of civilization and of wealth at large. Socialists would not annihilate this priceless heritage; they desire simply to have it differently administered.

The question, What is the "quintessence of Socialism?" gives pause to *connoisseurs* themselves. Schaeffle, in his instructive little book with this title, tells us, touching the nature of the system, much of high value, yet seems hardly to reveal its quintessence after all. Socialism, he shows, would not entirely abolish even private property. It need not do away with national lines, orderly government, individual initiative, freedom, culture, or religion.² "It is a question," he says, "between the collective and the private possession of the means for carrying on collective or divisible labor, *i. e.* of capital; whether the unconscious, non-unitary social-static regulator, so to speak, afforded by the mutual pressure of private interests, *i. e.*, competition among capitalists, would better regulate production and distribution, the process, as it were, of digestion and circulation in social transformation, or whether a unitedly conscious and organized social force should do

¹ And he exhorts well (*Quintessenz des Socialismus*, 69): "Pray let people at last accustom themselves on this prodigious question to think and judge of the facts as they are. Let them rid themselves of the desolating influence of cutting words, vain hopes, passions, prejudices, lying to themselves, and denouncing others. Else *all* ranks of society are doomed, and civilization too."

² He admits, however, what is notorious, that nearly all Socialist leaders, hitherto, have been pronounced if not violent unbelievers.

this." But he does not herewith let us into the ultimate secret of Socialism.

As little does the notice that Socialists propose to make the state their agent for realizing their aims, since the earlier Socialists did not wish this, and the Anarchists oppose it now.¹ As little, again, does the hope that the felicity wherefor Socialism sighs is coming, or the determination to work that it may come. Were either of these a mark of Socialism, Cairnes, Mill, and perhaps all economists would be Socialists.

Rae sets us upon the right track when he represents Socialists as, in their view, struggling for "plain and elementary right." "They declare that under the present industrial arrangements the laboring classes are, in effect, robbed of most of the value of the work of their hands, and, of course, the suppression of systematic robbery is an immediate obligation of the present." But a man might believe laborers to be barred of their rights, yet be no Socialist. We have to sink the plummet lower.

The deep-lying thought, the marrow, the life of Socialism, without appreciating which no understanding or definition of it can be had, is its assumption of a standard or ideal of justice in distributing the rewards of industry, different from that standard and ideal which accompany the system of free contract or *laissez-faire*. To be sure, rewards gotten concurrently with the prevalence of *laissez-faire* may be unjust, and yet the fault not attach to the system but to departures from it. The Socialist has made up his mind that iniquity is the pith and core of the very system, that righteousness in distribution is to be sought along a quite other path. Here at last is the quintessence of Socialism; the rest of it — its various forms, its plans, including that for governmental redress of conditions — all grow out of this.

The third and only remaining party of Adam Smith's antagonists are the professorial Socialists, or the Socialists of the Chair. The above has given us light upon the inquiry, with how much correctness these are dubbed Socialists. It will be seen that in both the bestowment and the acceptance of this title there was a propriety deeper than most have recognized, as in principle the gentlemen of the chair are practically at one with Socialists proper. Both make it out to be of the very nature of free competition to work injustice in distribution. This, however, let us

¹ "Anarchy," as denoting the purpose of a certain Socialist sect, does not mean "no government," but "automatic government," without the machinery of rulers, laws, and courts.

hasten to add, is, with professorial Socialists, only half; they reject apriorism, too, not less pronouncedly, as a rule, than the disciples of Knies. This party, therefore, constitutes, in a general way, the synthesis to the thesis and the antithesis offered by the two already described. In it the twain are reduced to one.

This account, so brief, must not, it is evident, be taken as schema for use deductively, in judging the exact positions of individual writers. It is only a general sketch. There are several distinguished economists, each of whom might be referred to one of the above three classes, in virtue of some of his views; to another, in virtue of others. A few, commonly ranked in the third, are peculiarly hard to classify fairly. Wagner goes far toward very Socialism, favoring public ownership of real estate in cities,¹ and the use of taxation as means of equalizing wealth. Almost none concur with him in these extreme positions. Nasse is of opinion that inclination to depend on the state is too rife already, needing to be checked rather than furthered. Schaeffle, whom Helferich styles "the most highly gifted economist in Germany," occupies an isolated position, resembling Wagner's. Schmoller rings the changes on "righteousness in distribution" (*vertheilende Gerechtigkeit*), like the rest, but does not expect to secure this through the state alone; and he explicitly denies that invocation of the state is the essential characteristic of his sect. Some of them, he says, are theoretically, in spite of their plea for reform, nearer to the old school than to Knies.² Held vows outright that they have developed "no new system absolutely contrasted with that of Adam Smith," and desire only to correct the eccentricities of the time-honored doctrine.

Others take a more radical tone. "I belong," says de Laveleye, "to this ethico-historical economical school, which has been called the Socialists of the Chair, and for my part, like our ancestors, the 'Gueux,' I accept the epithet with which our adversaries have stigmatized my colleagues of German universities, invoking morals, justice, and history to raise our science above the deification of egotism, with the object of ameliorating the prospects of the working-class."

There is, then, among the Socialists of the Chair a decided variety of positions. "They are a unit," as Schmoller frankly

¹ *Lehrbuch d. Pol. Oek.*, i., pp. 747 sqq.

² Many reviews make no essential distinction between the historical and the professorial Socialist school. They are, however, radically unlike on many points. See Knies, *Pol. Oek.*, p. 132.

admits, "only in reference to the scientific bankruptcy of the older, abstractly dogmatic political economy, to certain fundamental questions of method, to certain general aims, and — chief of all — to a number of the most pressing social reforms."

Among "bankrupt" elements of the old theory he must mean to reckon free competition as norm for fair distribution, because rejection of this is certainly a point whereon all Schmoller's real fellow-thinkers agree. If some of them still allow a rôle to *laissez-faire*, under certain restrictions, this is only what Socialists would do. On the other hand, if any actually take *laissez-faire* as authoritative and main determinant of shares in distribution, merely declining to view it as strictly absolute, rigid analysis would manifestly place them not here at all, but across, under the banner of the founder of the science.

The Chair-Socialist is, therefore, contradictory as it may seem and be, Roscherite and Socialist both in one. With followers of Roscher and Knies he renounces all apriorism and hard dogma, and takes account of economics as possessing a dynamic side; with Rodbertus, Winkelblech, Marx, and Lassalle he curses *laissez-faire*. Nearly every one of his conceptions relating to political economy, and of his contributions to the same, will be seen to connect itself, synthetically, if not analytically, with some one of these integrating tenets. In passing now from exposition more to criticism, we shall find this convenient; we shall be presenting all the characterization which our limits allow of the first two anti-Smithian groups in our discussion of the third.

Never will the professorial Socialist be put down by sneers. He has a cause and is aware of this. So soon his influence upon the world's economic thinking is great. It is destined to be greater, and this almost irrespective of the question whether or not he ever secures acceptance for his theoretical contentions. Even as theorist he will be heard, nay, has been heard.

There is one point in the field of theory where the professorial Socialist's appeal has produced an important effect already, an effect which most have evidently not observed, and to which, it is believed, no writer has hitherto explicitly called attention. It is now on all hands silently taken for granted that the actual subject-matter of our science is *weal*, whereas in its classical days *wealth*, a very different notion, held that post of honor. The fathers doubtless thought of *weal* as in some sort furnishing the ultimate *raison d'être* for their inquiries, but did not build upon it as corner-stone. Adam Smith's masterpiece was "An Inquiry into

the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," and the various writings of the *epigoni*, however their titles may have read, all looked out from the same point of view. What every economist studies at present is the *welfare* — on its temporal side, of course — of bodies politic, so far as this is dependent on industrial effort. Wealth, save as tributary to weal, save as means to human progress toward realizing worthy aims, is no longer a centre of scientific interest. It is not a fact, here at least, if it is or ever has been anywhere, that science cares, in strictest sense, merely for truth, regardless of truth's worth in life.

One important consequence induced by this change of basis is that wealth is coming to be classified, some forms of it being rated as, even economically, superior to others. Rum is not wealth as bread-corn is, or houses, or good literature. It is scientific fatuity to exclude ethical distinctions from economics, to estimate all desires as equally legitimate economically, and things as embodying equal amounts of wealth through their simple ability to satisfy equal volumes or intensities of desire. "The truth is," says Ingram, "that at the bottom of all economic investigation must lie the idea of the destination of wealth for the maintenance and evolution of society."

Such a view, no doubt, brings political economy into the closest relations with general sociology, but it does not necessarily involve a real fusion of the two. That peculiar segment from the science of men's community-life which deals with social good in its coarsest and most temporal phase will still yield a separable and unitary body of phenomena, that science will find it most convenient to treat by itself. Wholly to isolate it, however, is indeed unsafe, as well as scientifically impossible. Earlier economists carried the abstraction much too far. Every human power, every impulse, fancy, prejudice, or other experience to which members of our race are subject may become for the time an economic factor. On the other hand, no men always, few ever, act in the sole character of economic agents.

Another result of the same change is the new stress now laid on distribution in economics, as compared with production or exchange. A land with millions of wealth in few hands while paupers swarm more and more will not be placed so high in the scale of wealth as another of fewer millions, but free from paupers, beggars, and a desperate proletariat. If people are starving under the shadow of gold heaps, economic inquiry nowadays is likely to envisage first not the gold, but the starvation. Not that

we study the science of political economy less, the art more. The improvement lies right in the domain of theory. A practical impulse may have contributed to it, yet the transition has left what it found, a science.

The finest outcome from this fresh canvass of distribution is seen not among the professorial Socialists themselves, but in the studies to which they have prompted men like Walker, Jevons, Hearn, and Marshall, who, not despairing of *laissez-faire*, have set out to ascertain whether its *régime* is really so fatal to wage-workers as it is commonly made to appear. A new theory of wages and of profits has been constructed, according to which equitable distribution occurs through the working — if Professor Knies will pardon the expression — of natural economic laws, all apart from control by government. Laborers being intelligent and firm in their just demands, Ricardo's and Lassalle's "iron law," it is argued, becomes invalid. Also, profits do not prey upon wages. Government may be of utmost service, educating, perhaps also enforcing arbitration of disputes between employers and employed, but has no call to become universal *entrepreneur*. These theories are, to be sure, still under challenge, yet they promise much toward solution to the *questio vexatissima* of labor.

A further service for which the world has occasion to thank professorial Socialism is its insistence upon allowing larger field and function to the state than has sometimes been deemed well. The historian will one day be astounded at the credit our bright age has given to the theory which makes of the state a mere policeman, bound to protect us in our natural rights, but to do nothing beyond this, moral, educational, or economical, not even so much as to enact a marriage law or set up a sign-post. Happily the thoughtful are rapidly coming to a better mind, Herbert Spencer's recent utterances in favor of minimizing the state's sphere having spent themselves, as has been remarked, like a *vox clamantis in deserto*.

The policeman theory is often erroneously spoken of as if somehow a necessary part of the old economics. In truth, on the contrary, it has been defended and disseminated far more by political and general writers than by economists, on moral and mere sociological grounds than on economic. Spencer is not an economist. Adam Smith was, and the office he would assign to government is far from small or mean, the more remarkable when we reflect that governmental unwisdom was the bane of his time.

Again, it is Mill the political theorist who handcuffs the state. Mill the economist wishes it most liberal scope. "There is a

multitude of cases," are his words, "in which governments, with general approbation, assume power and execute functions for which no reason can be assigned except the simple one that they conduce to the general convenience. . . . The admitted functions of government embrace a much wider field than can easily be included within the ring-fence of any restrictive definition, and it is hardly possible to find any ground of justification common to them all, except the comprehensive one of general expediency."¹

But it was reserved for Schaeffle, Wagner, and their associates to secure energetic and large acceptance for this wider creed, and to show its eminent importance in relation to economics. They earnestly insist that in this realm, as elsewhere, the state should be employed to do all the desirable things which it can do, unless it is clear that private instrumentalities will accomplish them better. Many subscribers to this formula would certainly differ from these teachers as to its bearing upon specific problems; but it is of value to have it boldly enounced and defended.

Who will deny that government may now and then positively intervene in economic life, without setting up Socialism, dulling the spurs or choking the avenues of production, or becoming anywise dangerously paternal? And if this is possible, the intervention cannot in many cases but be with profit. We are forbidden to amplify here; enough to instance the value of statistics — and only government will reliably collate them — in lessening the frequency and gravity of panics, and the imperative need of governmental surveillance in some kind over great natural monopolies. There is much truth too in Dr. Patten's theorem,² that social causes, more than physical, limit man's supply of food; and it were, to say the least, as unsafe to deny as to affirm that the state might make itself an economic force by helping impart a direction economically wholesome to social tastes and propensities.

Mainly due to professorial Socialist argument is, further, the growing conviction against the absoluteness of legal rights, whether to property or to anything else. This is no new insight, for, besides being an easy deduction from any sound theory of ethics, the truth is practically admitted in the state's assertion of its eminent domain over citizens' property and lives. Indeed, scarcely a right can be named whose play is not from time to time trencched upon by public authority with the approval of all.

But the deep implication of these familiar facts is rarely recog-

Principles of Pol. Econ., Bk. v., ch. i.

The Premises of Political Economy, ch. ii. [Philad., 1885].

nized. "Vested rights," though but of yesterday, perhaps erected by legislatures the most fallible and corrupt, often having no better basis than fraud or force, are habitually regarded as too sacred to give way for any interest of humanity, however precious. My lords the Duke of Argyll and the Earl of Breadalbane may acquire all Scotland and throw what population they cannot exploit into the sea for lack of standing room; great riparian corporations are permitted to poison a river on which a hundred thousand human beings depend for water supply, — one must not whisper that it is wrong lest one be ranked as Socialist, or atheist even, blasphemer of the divine order. Were this not tragical it would be comical.

Now the researches of Sir Henry Maine, de Laveleye, Cliffe Leslie, and others have proved that private property, in land at least, far from being a divine, primordial, universal, or necessary institute, originated in comparatively recent times. Among all peoples, so far as can be traced, land was at first and for long common property, severalty-holdings not reaching at most beyond house lots and gardens. There are commons in Europe to-day that no individual ever owned.

Nor was community-property confined to land. Nearly all evidence is to the effect that primitive property in all kinds, movable as well as real estate, with such exceptions as each family's clothing and kit of utensils for hunting, fishing, and the like, was public. And right, even in case of these exceptions, was not then regarded absolute. Private property and especially the absoluteness of it are purely historical categories, that have arisen mainly under the influence of the Roman law.

That the institution of private property is young confessedly does not prove that it is wrong; it only removes its brazen mask. Property was made for man, not man for property. Moreover, it was made for man by man. It may, therefore, be modified for man by man. Let us not identify private property with wealth, or either with capital. The last two might conceivably remain though the first were abolished. The sole economic value of private property lies in its action as stimulus to production. All aids to production — and this is what Socialists too easily forget — are precious. Wagner would have us believe that the worth of severalty-ownership in this particular has been much over-estimated. One does well not to agree with him except after fullest reflection, yet it does seem practicable to accomplish something in the way, for example, of turning idle wealth into capital, without diminishing in the slightest any man's propensity for earning or saving.

We can now descry the basis of what is, perhaps, Professor Wagner's most original *aperçu*, his "legal theory" as to the origin of private property. Admitting a grain of truth in both the "natural" and the "natural-economic" theories — deriving private property directly from man's personality, taken *simpliciter* in the one case, in the other as possessing economic elements, — likewise in both the "occupation" and the "labor" theory, he contends that these hypotheses, whether singly or together, entirely fail to account for the institution in any of its known manifestations, and are still less capable of explaining its present forms and extent. Private property, besides being an historical category, is also a legal category, — a creature always and everywhere of either customary or statute law. Labor, saving, the economic nature of man, — these are, without question, its indispensable conditions, but the creative power which gives their products the character of this or that man's property is state recognition. When an heir becomes of age, what but law converts his heritage into his property? And in the legislation creating patents and copyrights, whose history can be traced, we see entire categories of property emerging from legislative action alone. "The legislator proceeds here quite rightly and realistically: he first examines the needs of the individual and of the community, and then determines, according to the result of this examination, the compass and content of the rights which this intellectual property shall possess."¹

Well, since so much of true and so much else that is striking belongs to this half-socialism, shall we not espouse it? Many are doing so. No other form of economic doctrine is to-day winning converts like this. Its influence, long wholly unrivaled in Germany, becomes each moment more commanding in other countries. Professors, journalists, statesmen are its adherents.² To

¹ *Lehrbuch*, i. 574 sq.

² "At the Congress of the Socialists of the Chair, which met at Eisenach in October, 1875, one of the professors whom I met there told me that Bismarck was also of this opinion. This professor was a member of a deputation that went to the Chancellor to explain the wants of the university. Prince Bismarck received them in the most cordial manner, and invited them to dinner. Among the guests were several 'Excellencies.' 'You will allow,' said the Chancellor to them, 'that for to-day Science takes precedence of everybody. Monsieur Professor, be so good as to offer your arm to Madame de Bismarck.' During the repast he said to Professor X—, 'You are, I suppose, a Katheder-Socialist?' 'Yes, your Excellency.' 'And why not simply Socialist? I too am a Socialist; but, unhappily, I have not time to take up the question. Certainly, however, there is much to be done for the laborers.' The Chancellor

the lively movement in Germany and England known as state socialism it is the breath of life.

That these aggressive critics have set political economy in a new and better way, whence it can never turn back to the old, is unquestionable. A new face, to say the least, in some sense a new heart, has been imparted to the science. The historical and statistical method of study and exposition, the assignment of wider range to ethical, political, and jural forces in economic affairs, humility in a *a priori* assumption, exalting distribution to an equality with production, and making weal instead of wealth the science's architectonic idea, — these, no one can gainsay, are improvements. Another, the most significant of all, is the issue of credentials to social dynamics as entitled to high place in economic regard.

That the traditional science could receive these amendments is not its condemnation. Rather, all things considered, is its omission of dynamics almost the only rubric whereon the new school's common rebukes of the old betray absolute candor and discretion. Thus, the individualism cultivated by the old was neither selfish self-interest, as usually charged, nor a negation of the fact or the importance of social organization. Again, to read the tirades that have been composed against *laissez-faire*, one would conclude that Adam Smith and Mill did not believe in any government at all, held every individual to be proof against miscalculation of his interests, and denied that his and the public's could ever clash. This is wholly unjust.

It is so, as well, to accuse them of apriorism in the extreme form quite frequently held up as theirs. That their inductions were often insufficiently broad we have seen, but it is a total error to represent them as supposing the laws of political economy intuitively cognized.¹

What leads this modern criticism astray is mainly its non-recognition of the change above pointed out in the task, purpose, subject-matter of our science. Contemporary economists have become social scientists, philanthropists, political philosophers.

then, as Professor X—— told me, explained his ideas on the subject in a few vigorous and fresh words, going to the very root of the social problem." [De Laveleye, in his *Socialism of To-Day*, p. 274, n.]

¹ Bagehot, *Postulates of Pol. Econ.*, criticising Cohn. Cf. Yves Guyot, *La Science Économique*, ch. i., *ibid.*, p. 12, as to the allegation that the old economists neglected history: "On croirait, à l'entendre, qu'avant lui [he is criticising Roscher] jamais un économiste n'avait ouvert un livre d'histoire." This is unjust to Roscher, but would not be to some writers who think themselves his followers.

Ricardo and his greater predecessor were content to till a field smaller and different. The later theory of the science may be, to a great extent is, superior to theirs, but assuredly it is no fair stricture upon those pioneers to note their failure to work out a science which they never pretended to undertake.

This criticism of criticism is important, for our new architects are in danger of putting up the needful additions to the economic structure with poor mortar. Especially wise will they be to beware how they give up or modify the old notions of law and scientific character as prevailing in the economic realm. Law is law none the less in that you cannot set it in mathematical formulæ. Inexact science is yet science, the peer of exact as educational material, far its superior for usefulness in life. "Any facts," says Mill, in his worthful chapter on human nature as amenable to scientific treatment,¹ "any facts are fitted in themselves to be a subject of science, which follow one another according to constant laws, although those laws may not have been discovered nor even be discoverable by our existing resources."

Against the historical theory with its emphasis of time, place, environment, and development there is, in jurisprudence, already a turning from Savigny back more to Vattel and Wolff. It is as if, in economics, men were discarding Knies for Mill again. That society is not stationary but is transformed from generation to generation, is seen not to sublate the notion of law as pervading it, since the evolution itself is under law. Likewise within any given age, nationality does not radically, as figured by Savigny, but only in a relatively superficial way, affect the character and growth of legislation. Law is very cosmopolitan. "So long," maintains von Ihering, "as jurisprudence does not resolve to place the principle of universality on the same level of authority with that of nationality, it can never comprehend the world in which it lives nor scientifically explain the reception accorded to the Roman law."²

But the professorial Socialist treads on the thinnest ice in his unqualified impeachment of *laissez-faire* distribution. Any one can point out evils in connection with the free industrial system. They are terrible and usually have not been exaggerated. Some of them, perhaps, though far from all, inevitably grow out of the system. But do not evils exist which are ineradicable in the very

¹ *Logic*, Book vi., ch. iii.

² *Geist des römischen Rechts*, i., p. 12. But cf. Prins, *Philosophie du droit et l'école historique*, Bruxelles, 1882.

nature of things? These preachers of righteousness in distribution seem to believe not. In one breath they denounce metaphysical assumptions, yet themselves make the most astonishing of assumptions, purely metaphysical, borne out by no evidence, resting on absolutely nothing but faith, that these ineffable ills in distribution are substantially eliminable.¹ Proof of that would go far as proof of optimism entire, a mightier philosophical achievement than was the immortal Critique of Pure Reason by Kant.

But this optimism is not proved; it is assumed. The cries "fair wages," "natural reward of labor," "just distribution" and so on are simply repeated, as if there were some ready standard by mere reference to which, as to a price list, one could ascertain precisely what remuneration each laborer should receive. In fact, the matter is a good way from such simplicity. What is a fair wage? Has any one suggested, can any one, any standard of fairness in the price of labor or of aught else, capable of enduring a moment's examination, which shall not ultimately depend on competition in open market?²

Brought to face this question as they have not faced it yet, some of these gate-proselytes to Socialism will in all likelihood advance to full communion, some return to the old heathenism of *laissez-faire*. Of the first it may be prophesied with confidence that should they even succeed in realizing a Socialist state they would not find it a paradise, but, on the contrary, unless human nature should change, cursed with slavery as well as poverty, and effecting whatever economic equalization it might achieve downward, not upward.

For the others better success may be hoped. Setting to work with their well-known and most commendable moral zeal, no longer charging *laissez-faire* with faults due to perversions of it, they will be felt in the purification and rational application of *laissez-faire* as economic principle, in aid to coöperative schemes where feasible, also to wholesome economic legislation for the control of monopolies, just taxation, and the encouragement of thrift; and, above all, in the education and Christianization of the masses. Instructed and moral, able to trust each other, act together and to act when and only when they should, laboring men will have nothing to fear from *laissez-faire*. Meantime in-

¹ Yves Guyot, 7.

² I am not forgetting v. Thünen's *Naturgemässer Arbeitslohn*, as he calls it, or the conceptions of Rodbertus, Grönlund, and Joseph Cook in the same direction.

evitable changes are in store for the other extremity of society. Lowered rates of interest will narrow the margin of non-capital wealth and make rewards to idleness impossible. The persistently idle will still starve, but the industrious and worthy will no longer be distressingly poor. Leveling of wealth even Socialists do not expect, and it will not come, as it ought not. That existence should be rich, that wealth itself should serve its best purpose, does not require each man to rival every other in weight of lucre owned. For after all, what Jesus Christ has told us, that temporal good is not the final cause of our being, that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth," remains true, and is the gospel for the day.

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DO THE AMERICAN INDIANS INCREASE OR DECREASE?

THE Indian question has as many faces as a polyhedron. It has at least ten: the Indian agent, who lives in a tribe, and has his political bills cashed by being made the superintendent of a reservation; the Indian contractor, who is to supply such an amount of goods and rations for so many dollars; the land speculator, who wishes to break up certain reservations that he may handle their acres in the general land market; the railroad projector, who wishes notices served on the tepees that the cars are coming; the philanthropist, who would tabulate the wrongs and sorrows of the Indian, but lacks reams of paper; the romantic admirer, who has read in dreamy Eastern bowers of Cooper's Indian of fiction; the citizen friend, who sees in a ballot and a warranty deed for land in severalty a cure for all civil ills that American flesh is heir to; the man of visions, who sees in latest and popular schemes the redemption of the red man; the Christian workingman, who believes that our holy religion is fully adequate to make Christians of Indians, and save the race from extinction; and the matter-of-fact man, who asks to what extent Indians' woes have been lessened, and what plans are on hand, and what more will probably be accomplished.

Here in the extreme West, where we are for the purpose of acquiring information, these questions press: Where have the

American Indians been? And how many? And where are they now? Referring to the earliest days of the Plymouth Colony, Dr. Bacon says: "The Narragansets, inhabiting all the territory now included in the State of Rhode Island, are supposed to have been at that time about thirty thousand."¹ Schoolcraft says that at the discovery of America the number of Indians within the present area of the United States did not exceed one million. Among the earliest estimates of their number in New England is that of Gookin, of whom Dwight says, in his "Travels," that he "has left, in many particulars, the best ancient account extant of the natives of this country." Gookin numbers 80,000 to "less than half of the present New England," which President Dwight thinks too high, and puts the number at 70,000. This was for the year 1796 — ninety years ago.² By the census of 1880 the number of Indians in the whole of New England was 4,096.

In 1820, under the instruction of the Hon. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D. D., made a visit into much of the Indian country, and also a careful study of the Indian question for those times. He found the whole number of Indians east of the Mississippi to be 120,346.³ In the census of 1880 they were 15,366, allowing one fifth of all in Louisiana to be on the east of the Mississippi.⁴

The Report of Dr. Morse for the entire United States for 1820 gave 425,766, while by our last census, sixty years later, the number is 255,938, — Alaska not included. This is a decrease in the sixty years of 169,828. Two things, however, should be considered: first, the impossibility of any close estimate of our Indians at that time — the number given by Dr. Morse may be too high or too low; secondly, it must be remembered that our census of 1880 covers territory gained from Mexico, which gives us 33,306 Indians. This number should be subtracted from the whole, in order to take the census of 1820 and that of 1880 from the same area. This will show a decrease of 203,134 from the estimate of Dr. Morse during the sixty years ending with 1880.

As to the remnants of Indians in Massachusetts, the last item-

¹ *The Genesis of the New England Churches.* By Leonard Bacon. 1874. P. 357.

² *Travels in New England.* By Timothy Dwight, S. T. D. 1822. Vol. iii., pp. 39, 41.

³ *Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs.* By the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D. D. 1822. P. 375.

⁴ Appendix, *United States Census, 1880*, p. 558.

ized and exhaustive report was made in 1861.¹ It is a sad record, and brief — “the short and simple annals of the poor.” There then remained the shreds of ten bands, in all about 1,600 persons, but among them all no one drop of pure Indian blood, no civil rights at the polls; intemperate, immoral, and unambitious, and for the ten years preceding receiving the charities of the State, not including school-money, to the amount of \$29,964.87.

A wider territorial range than the Bay State gives only the same fact extended. One hundred years ago the young republic had practical possession of a shore belt one hundred miles in depth by nine hundred in length. Theoretically we owned the remainder back to the Mississippi, with the Indians in possession. The western border of our Atlantic belt was skirted with the cabins and wigwams of the two races. By treaty and trick, purchase and fraud, the whites have come into actual possession to the Mississippi. Here and there is a “reservation,” with Indians on it, as islands in an overflowing river with their trees half uprooted. It would be difficult to tell how many times single tribes have been moved, till they are now gathered, wasted and heartless, in the Indian Territory. In 1880 I found the Cherokees there, under the sixteenth treaty with government. Many of these serial movements to new reservations, and other changes of condition, were marked with their attempts for our style of life, but their projects were broken and their improvements were abandoned as fast as white immigrants and speculators wanted their lands.

At the time above mentioned Judge Rowe, of the Cherokee Nation, said to the author, and with more of meaning than it is possible for a white man to put into the words: “Farming is not good for the Indian. We are discouraged, hopeless, and expect to become extinct.”

The original States of the Union have not been preëminent in this wasting of the aborigines. Newfoundland was once fairly peopled with Indians, but the last two of them — a man and a woman — were shot by two Englishmen in 1823. “In Newfoundland, as in other parts of America, it seems to have been for a length of time a meritorious act to kill an Indian.”² “Unless some extra means be interposed, he gradually fades from existence.” “Between Lake Huron and the sea the remnants of them

¹ *Massachusetts Senate Document 96, 1861, by J. M. Earl.*

² *Report of Committee of Parliament on the Aborigines of North America. 1837. Martin's History of the Hudson's Bay Company.*

are scattered in small and decaying tribes, at distant intervals, unconnected, and of no public importance."¹

The Hurons, or Wyandots, were once estimated to be 30,000. "A feeble remnant, a few score in number of the Wyandots, now survive, and are represented at Washington by an exceptionally shabby white man, who has received the doubtful honor of adoption into the tribe."²

The depletion of the race continued west of the Alleghanies and as rapidly as in the east. When Colonel Henderson obtained title of land for that abnormal State called Transylvania, he contracted with 1,200 Indian chiefs, and paid to them for their quit-claim ten loads of goods, a few fire-arms, and some whiskey.³ So many chiefs indicated a large Indian population at that date, 1775. At our last census the number of Indians in Kentucky — now about double the area of the primitive Transylvania — was fifty. It is no longer "the dark and bloody ground," but "the blue grass country."

In 1820 Dr. Morse, the Indian Commissioner, reported the Mennomonies, Winnebagoes, Chippeways, Sioux, Sacs, and Foxes at 60,000, but the census of 1880 puts them at 33,795. In 1820 the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Seminoles were numbered at 72,010, and in 1880 the census puts them as being 59,187. Once the Delawares were numerous and powerful, the fear of Pennsylvania. In the Indian Commissioner's Report for 1880, sixty years afterward, they are numbered as 78, and on the other side of the Mississippi. Dr. Morse in his Report, page 31, states that "South Carolina had twenty-eight tribes when settled by the English," all but five of which, he reports, had even so early disappeared. In 1880 it had 131 Indians.

Judge Burnet has left on record some painful passages in reference to this disappearance of the aborigines: "In journeying more recently through the State, the writer has occasionally passed over the ground on which, many years before, he had seen Indian towns filled with families of the devoted race, contented and happy, but he could not perceive the slightest trace of those villages, or the people who had occupied them."⁴ The Judge details a thrilling incident, and a picture of the frontier. In 1812 a

¹ *Emigrant's Guide to Upper Canada*, etc. By C. Stuart, Esq. London, 1820. Pp. 243, 257.

² *The Indian Question*. By Francis A. Walker. 1874. P. 70.

³ *Abbott's Life of Daniel Boone*, p. 123.

⁴ *Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwest Territory*. By Jacob Burnet. Cincinnati, 1847. Pp. 390-92.

tribe of friendly Indians came within the range of the settlements, to be safe from the hostile tribes, near Urbana. Some of the United States army stationed there laid a plan to massacre them. Simon Kenton, who commanded the regiment, exhausted his pleas to restrain them, but in vain. He then said that he would go with them, and called on them to proceed, and, taking his rifle, he added that he would shoot the first man who molested an Indian. The soldiers did not proceed.¹ Ohio to-day has 130 Indians.

Hennepin says, that when he first visited the Mississippi, in 1680, the Osages had seventeen villages; the Mahas or Omahas, twenty-two, the least of which contained two hundred cottages. If these numbers be correct there must have been about 90,000 souls in them all. Now, says one authority, publishing in 1812, there are less than 1,500, and he adds: "Many other nations were equally numerous."² Major Stoddard was the first United States Governor of the Upper Louisiana, taking office in 1804. The "*Magazine of Western History*" quotes a Jesuit father in Louisiana as saying that about the year 1700 Illinois had 10,000 Indians. Now it has 140.³ Probably Dr. Morse was not far out of the way in numbering the Indians east of the Mississippi in 1820 at 120,000.

But we have neither time nor need nor heart to trace out farther, in items, this decline of the Indian tribes, east of the Mississippi. We have followed the trail of the 120,346, officially reported in 1820, till they have wasted, in 1880, to 15,366. What Dr. Morse saw in the year preceding drew from him this sad lament: "How many tribes, once numerous and respectable, have in succession perished from the fair and productive territories now possessed by and giving support to ten millions of people!"⁴ I cannot refrain from adding that eloquent passage in the "*British Spy*," which, if very romantic and poetic, is still more historic:—

"This charming country belonged to the Indians; over these fields and through these forests their beloved forefathers, once, in careless gaiety, pursued their sports and hunted their game. Every returning day found them the sole, the peaceful, the happy proprietors of this extensive domain. But the white man came, and lo, the animated chase, the feast, the dance, the song of fear-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 464-65.

² *Sketches and Description of Louisiana*. By Major Amos Stoddard. Philadelphia, 1812. Pp. 433-34.

³ *Magazine of Western History*, 1885, p. 268.

⁴ *Report*, Appendix, p. 17.

less, thoughtless joy, were over. Ever since, they have been made to drink of the bitter cup of humiliation; treated like dogs, their lives, their liberties, the sport of the white man; their country and the graves of their fathers torn from them in cruel succession, until, driven from river to river, and from forest to forest, and through a period of two hundred years rolled back, nation upon nation, they find themselves fugitives, vagrants, and strangers in their own country."

Of course the claim by natural right of the aborigines to hold these immense wilds against utilization in cultivation and civilization cannot be conceded. If one is studiously inclined on this point, he may find profitable and sufficient reading in Vattel, section 209; Kent's "Commentaries on American Law," volume iii. and Lecture fifty-one; and Wheaton's "Reports," volume viii., page 543 and following.

It is estimated that one acre in corn will furnish a food supply for from 120 to 240 men for a year, while from 800,000 to 1,500,000 acres of wild and game land would be necessary to do the same.¹ The increase of the human family and its elevation in what constitutes civilization cannot be expected to concede to an Indian the sovereign control and use of 6,000 acres of land for the natural production of wild animals, that he may live on game suppers. Practically and by some processes in jurisprudence the case becomes a new one and the decision is reversed, when the party is a white Englishman or American instead of a tawny aboriginal American, and holds from ten thousand to half a million of acres.

But let us cross over the Mississippi, and there take up again the trail of our fugitive Indians — "our wards" — as they strike off into the West. We started, sixty years ago, to follow 425,766 of them, of whom we have found only 15,366 now on the east of the great river. How many of the remainder can be found on the west of it? The American Board of Missions has this remark in its Report for 1853: "It is not strange that the Indians of the United States, in two centuries, have lost half their number."

We never have had, in early years or lately, such an enumeration of our Indians at regularly recurring periods as will enable us to speak positively of their increase or decrease as a whole. Single tribes and clusters of tribes have furnished a basis for limited comparison, if we are allowed to use official and unofficial

¹ *Pre-Historic Races of the United States of America*. By J. W. Foster, LL. D. 1874. Pp. 346, 347.

estimates in a mixed way, as thus: Mr. Picotte "informs me that since he first knew them in 1820, the Mandans, Rees, and Gros Ventres had probably lost five sixths of their number."¹ In 1858 the Apaches in Arizona were said to have 2,000 warriors.² On a common estimate of one warrior to six Indians this would give the Apaches in that territory 12,000. The government reports 9,891 for their total in Arizona, New Mexico, and the Indian Territory in 1880.

In 1845 Elijah White, Indian Agent for Oregon Territory, reported there "about 42,000 Indians." That territory embraced the Oregon, Washington, and Idaho of to-day, and all north up to 54° 40'. As only "civilized" Indians are entered in the census of 1880, and the agencies report only what are connected with them, a comparison with reference to increase or decrease can be only suggestive and approximate. For so much of the original Oregon as now lies within the United States, the Indian Commissioner's Report for 1880 gives 16,356. Of these, 1,550 are reckoned as not under an agent. The number of the uncivilized is not given; and allowing for these and for any north of 49° in Mr. White's report, the difference is still very great between his estimate in 1845, of 42,000, and the reported number of 16,356 in 1880. The statements of two agents are stimulating to reflections on this difference. The agent for the Grand Rondé Agency, Oregon, says: "The Indians composing the inhabitants of the agency are remnants of the numerous and once powerful tribes occupying the Willamette and Rogue River Valleys in this State." This agency has 869 Indians, the remnant of seventeen tribes. The agent of the Siletz agency, Oregon, reports: "The Indians occupying this extent of country number about 1,100, and are composed of the remnants of fifteen different tribes."

We obtain a glance at the large body of Indians in Oregon in those early days by reading a passage like this: "Half a century ago they came by thousands, and the desolate shores were alive with them. . . . Now only a few score Indians come to remind the whites that a remnant of the race still lives." The author is speaking of the salmon fisheries on the Columbia, at the Dalles.³

¹ Cuthbertson's *Expedition to the Mawaises Terres*, 1850, Fifth An. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, March, 1851, p. 119.

² *Arizona and Sonora*. By Sylvester Mowry, Delegate to Congress. 1864. Pp. 32, 33.

³ *Guide to the Northern Pacific Railroad*. By Henry I. Winsor. 1883. P. 233.

In 1840 five missionaries, with associates, — thirty-six adults and seventeen children, — arrived in Oregon to enlarge the Methodist Mission. "Not long after the arrival of this last reinforcement affairs began to grow more discouraging. The Mission school near Salem dwindled to almost nothing. . . . A tour was made in the Umpqua Valley, where they preached to the Indians, on many occasions, but concluded that it was not wise to open a mission there, partly owing to the rapidity with which the Indians seemed to be wasting away. The station on Puget Sound was so unsuccessful that it was abandoned." The superintendent was superseded, but Mr. Hines, one of the authors on Oregon, defends the Mission and Mr. Lee by saying that "the Indian population had been wasting away like the dews of the morning."¹

Commander Wilkes noted the same decrease of Indians in Oregon in 1841. "We hoped to get sight of the Indians of the Methodist Mission, whom they were teaching, but saw only four servants. We were told, however, that there was a school of twenty or twenty-five scholars ten miles away. In a few days we visited the mill where the school was situated, but were told that it was not in a condition to be visited." "During my stay at Vancouver I frequently met Casenove, the chief of the Klackatack tribe. . . . He was once lord of all this domain, . . . and within the last fifteen years his village was quite prosperous; he could muster four or five hundred warriors; but the ague and fever have, within a short space of time, swept off the whole tribe, and it is said they all died within three weeks. He now stands alone, his land, tribe, and property all departed, and he a dependent on the bounty of the Company [Hudson's Bay Company]. Casenove is about fifty years of age, and a noble and intelligent-looking Indian. At the fort he is always welcome, and is furnished with a plate at meal-times at the side-table. . . . He scarce seemed to attract the notice of any one, but ate his meal in silence and retired. . . . Casenove's tribe is not the only one that has suffered in this way; many others have been swept off entirely by this fatal disease, without leaving a single survivor to tell their melancholy tale."²

Campbell, in his "North West Boundary," page 133, makes

¹ *History of Indian Missions on the Pacific Coast, Oregon, etc.* By Rev. Myron Eells. 1882. Pp. 22-24.

² *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition.* By Charles Wilkes, Commander of the Expedition. Philadelphia, 1845. Vol. iv., pp. 352, 369-370.

this statement in the same line: "The whole inside of the north-eastern part of San Juan formerly belonged to a tribe kindred to the Lummies, and now extinct." And the following is of the same import, only more comprehensive: "The race, as such, is doomed to extinction in Oregon."¹ Still another and more recent author shows the whole by sample: "One Sunday I was at the Siletz Agency, and hearing the church-bell calling to service went in. . . . There was a great variety of type apparent, for the remnants of thirteen tribes of the Coast and Klamath and Rogue River Indians are collected on this Reservation."²

In his "Sketches of Louisiana," page 206, Stoddard says that in the early days of white settlements among them "the Arkansas nation of Indians was deemed one of the most powerful in the country, and the French, to preserve peace with them, and to secure their trade, intermarried with them, . . . who are now reduced to a very few in number, and live in two small villages." That was early in this century. Now the very name is lost to any living Indian, and is preserved in a State which contains one hundred and ninety-five Indians.

Three months in the autumn of 1885 were spent by the author between the Missouri and the Pacific, and with a leading purpose to study our mixed Indian and American life in that region. The freedom of the private traveling citizen, and exemption from all official relations which might bias him or expose him to any personal aims of his informants, afforded some exceptionally good opportunities for seeing the inside of the "Indian Question." An office-holder among the Indians, or an office-seeker, a border land speculator or an Indian agent, secular or sacred, will appreciate this statement. The principal informant, intelligent and candid, had spent more than thirty years west of the Missouri and between our northern boundary and Mexico, had been the most of this time in the employ of the government, and spoke four Indian languages. Questions were put and the answers written out at the time. "The Gos-Ute," he said, in answer to the question whether the Indians are increasing or decreasing, "was once a very numerous tribe on the deserts of Western Utah and Eastern Nevada, now nearly extinct, — less than 400. In 1860, when I guided Lieutenant Weed's command, Battery B, Fourth Artillery, in Eastern Nevada, we estimated them at 1,200." "Possibly the Utes hold their own numbers, but not any other tribe, and I

¹ *Oregon and Her Resources.* By Hugh Small. 1872. P. 14.

² *Two Years in Oregon.* By Wallis Nash. 1882. P. 139.

have ranged, since 1853, from the British border to Arizona, and on the East from the divide to the Pacific." "The Indians must go. They are dying out. The Navahoes have the military and missionaries, Catholic and Protestant. But the soldiery will have access to the Reservation. The officers and missionaries cannot prevent it, and the tribe is being consumed with imported diseases. The Arapahoes are another case." Of these the Report for 1880 shows about 4,000, of whom 712 are tabulated in the column of venereal diseases. "In 1858-1869 it was difficult to find an unchaste Ute or Snake woman. After they went on the Reservation virtue was destroyed by the soldiers. I doubt if one virtuous woman can now be found among them. Liquor can be had freely on the Reservation. It caused the Ute massacre of Meeker and of Jackson, the teamster. . . . From the corruption of the whites the Navahoe tribe is now one vast pest-house." "The tribes are ruined beyond all chance of hope by the soldiers and cow-boys and ranchers. The officers generally are gentlemen, and hold themselves above corrupting influences over the Indians, but the soldiers are of the lowest grade originally, and are simply dreadful. You can have no conception of their outrageous conduct." "Can we in any way save any tribe from extinction?" "Only by keeping from them the white influences which are now destroying them." "Would a fair Ohio neighborhood around save them?" "Yes, beyond a doubt; and yet I do not know but these imported vices have too strong and destroying a hold to be stopped."

The testimony just quoted covers, it will be noticed, quite an area, and quite a number of years. It agrees well with what Commissioner Walker says in his "Indian Question," p. 152: "The Indian tribes of the continent, with few exceptions, have been steadily decreasing in numbers."

In this historical disquisition on the increase and decrease of the American Indians; those of California have been reserved for a separate consideration, for several reasons. California had, from the earliest days of Europeans there, the fair experiment of the church and state policy combined to open up a new country. The Roman Catholic mission system had there, in its twenty-one "Missions," a fair and unmolested show of its theory, running through more than sixty years. An American border life among Indians had there an exceptionally good illustration in the extent of its range — having the combined areas of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Nowhere besides, in our domain,

has there been such a mixture of Indian, mining, and ranching life — each a very positive element in the preparation of a civil and Christian State.

Therefore a better field than California could not be found in which to study the perpetuity, civilization and Christianization of American Indians.

The Franciscans planted missions among the Indians on the coast between San Diego and San Francisco. There were finally twenty-one of these missions, in a shore belt about 500 by 40 miles, and so far adjoining as to rule out settlers between. The first was established in 1769 and the last in 1823, and the Padres were both lords spiritual and temporal. They so far Christianized and domesticated the natives as to reckon 18,683 as connected with the Missions. These were all servants and worked for a living merely, not accumulating property in their own right. By this policy the Fathers became immensely wealthy. In 1825 the Mission at San Francisco owned 76,000 head of cattle, 3,000 horses, 79,000 sheep, and other ranch interests in proportion. Their white and red wines obtained high repute in the East, the mission of San Gabriel producing annually from four hundred to six hundred barrels. The civil, social, and "Christian" condition of the native converts may be seen in one passage from Cronise: —

"Both men and women were required to work in the fields every day, except those who were carpenters, blacksmiths, or weavers. None of them were taught to read or write except a few who were selected to form a choir, to sing and play music, for each mission. The only instruments were the violin and guitar. They never received any payment for their labor, except food and clothing, and instructions in the catechism. The single men and women were locked up in separate buildings every night. Both sexes were severely punished with the whip if they did not obey the missionaries, or other white men in authority. . . . Both men and women were flogged or put into the stocks, if they refused to believe or to labor. . . . Eminent men of science from England, France, Russia, and the United States who visited the coast, and saw the unfortunate natives under the mission régime, in its palmy days, all bear witness to the wretched state of bodily and mental bondage in which they were held."¹

So in Mexico the converted Indians were reduced to slavery on

¹ *The Natural Wealth of California*. By Titus Fye Cronise. San Francisco, 1868. Pp. 25, 26.

the land and in the mines.¹ Of the vast interior of the country and the great majority of pagan natives the "Missions" took no account. It does not appear that they explored to see whether the lands or the natives, far inland, were worth attention. When the Convention at Monterey, in 1849, was discussing the question where the eastern boundary of the young State should be, they were bewildered, as in an unknown land. One proposed a line that would have included one half of Nevada; another, the whole of Nevada and a large part of Utah; and yet another, all of Nevada and Utah, the most of Colorado, and portions of Nebraska. Indeed, the vastness, the amplitude, of American geography, has always been confusing to both citizens and foreigners. The home government of old Spain made liberal grants for these Missions, as settlements to develop the country as a part of the Spanish Empire, and the Catholics patronized them generously for the extension of the Church. Yet the soldiers and colonists sent there by the government were often ruffians and renegades, transported for crimes at home. Such was the Spanish theory of the civilization and Christianization of the Indians as practiced in California.

In 1821 Mexico assumed independence under Iturbide. It became more and more evident that the policy of California was a failure for either civil or religious purpose, and in 1826 the Missions began to be broken up by government, and the vast wealth in them confiscated to the young republic. This was completed by statute in 1833, when the Mexican Congress abolished the missions, removed the missionaries, and divided the cattle, lands, and remnants of property among the natives and the settlers. Santa Anna, coming then into power, broke the full force of this decree, yet their power waned; the successive insurrections, or changes in parties, despoiled them, and in 1845 government sold the last of the "Missions" at auction. The domesticated Indians suffered severely from these changes. They had been educated for servitude and not citizenship, and their conversion to Christianity had been ceremonial rather than vital, and they had received no training in civilization above the wants of their menial life. Their relapse, therefore, was not only inevitable, but they became more of an obstacle to the future settlement and development of the country than the wild Indians themselves. Indeed, they stood in the way of civilizing the uncivilized Indians, for they had only so far left the savage state as to adopt the vices of their half-civilized masters. They had lost the virtues of their

¹ *Am. Encyc.*, 1875. Mexico, p. 476.

wild life, but had not attained to those of civilized life, and would class with that refuse of whites on our frontiers who are the principal obstacle to the elevation of the Indians.

Of these "Mission" Indians, as has been stated, there were finally 18,683. The last of these establishments was constituted in 1823, in which year the first official census was taken of the Indian race in California. The number reported was 100,826. That was about sixty years ago, and by latest official reports that number has fallen to 16,277 (1880). This amazing and humiliating reduction is easily explained, if the following passage, written thirty years ago, was a fair expression at the time of the feelings of California toward her aborigines:—

"Their presence is not compatible with that of a civilized community; and as the country becomes more thickly settled, there will be no longer room for them. Their country can be made subservient to man, but as they themselves cannot be turned to account, they must move off, and make way for their betters. This may not be very good morality, but it is the way of the world, and the aborigines of California are not likely to share a better fate than those of many another country. . . . As with wild cattle, so it is with Indians: so many head, and no more, can live on a given quantity of land."¹

The facts now given, miscellaneous of necessity, only partially official, and as comprehensive as data at hand would allow, point distinctly to an apparent decrease in the number of the American Indians. Of course results of this investigation can be stated only approximately, since the government tables contain many blanks, and when filled they frequently have the foot-notes: "from report of last year;" "estimated;" "partially reported;" "an underestimate, many tribes not being reported." While the twenty-six columns in the usual table are generally filled, except when obviously there was nothing to be inserted, as boarding-schools, or missionaries or donations, only twenty-eight per cent. of the blanks for births and deaths are filled. Every tribe furnishes material for these blanks, and their vacancy is a serious hindrance to this investigation. In the Reports for ten years ending with 1884, there are 2,585 blanks for the entry of the population, etc., of as many tribes, yet only 729 of these contain the figures of births and deaths. We have, therefore, only twenty-eight per cent. of the material or conditions for working the problem in hand.

¹ *Three Years in California; 1851-54.* By J. D. Borthwick. Edinburgh and London, 1857.

With these very imperfect returns, the average annual return for ten years, ending with 1884, is 518 births in excess of deaths.

One of the Indian Commissioners throws a farther perplexity over the tables on which we would like to rely on the question of increase or decrease. Mr. Walker mentions an increase in certain tribes, and then says: "An increase of 402 over the number reported for 1871; due, however, perhaps as much to the return of absent Indians as to the excess of births over deaths."¹

Only "civilized" Indians are officially reported, which fact may have left some to a hopeful delusion as to increase. For example, the total reported increase for 1881 over 1880 was 5,913; but the increase by births over deaths was only 350. Whence the additional increase of 5,563? It is an increase of "civilized," not of new-born Indians — an annex of so many from the wild Indians. Dropping the blanket for the pantaloons does not add to the "wards of the nation;" it is merely a change in wardrobe, and very slight indeed at that. Thus, in 1882 the number falls off 2,219 from the preceding year, not perhaps a decrease by death so much as by a relapse into the "uncivilized" class.

A wider range among the figures may serve still farther to remove this delusion, for an obscurity covers them, tending to skepticism on what we would like to say, that the Indians are on the increase. The Report of the Commissioner for 1874 gives their number as 275,003, but the Report for 1882 gives it as 259,632. Here is a loss of our Indian total in eight years of 15,371.

We have elsewhere quoted a government Report for 1820, showing that the "Five Nations" or five civilized tribes in the Indian Territory then numbered 72,010. The Report for 1880 — sixty years later — shows that they had decreased to 59,187, — a loss of 12,823. It should be here added that those five tribes have been the favorites of the government and of our educating and missionary societies.

And if one is still more critical over some of these figures he may become more skeptical as to their accuracy. The increase in the "Five Nations" for eight years ending with 1882 is 5,381. As it does not appear that any wild Indians have been added, during this time, to the number of those five tribes, this increase must be the excess of births over deaths. But the excess of births over deaths among all our Indians for those eight years was only 4,560 — 821 less than the number assigned by the Reports to the Five

¹ *The Indian Question*, p. 155.

Nations alone. No doubt the per cent. of natural increase should be greater among those favored tribes than among any others, for they have enjoyed an actual "reservation" for sixty years or so, and have been able to establish a family life. Under their present liabilities and anxieties as to a new civil status and separation and wanderings, this natural increase must not be expected to keep up its average. It is unfortunate that we have not complete and reliable vital statistics of these five favored tribes, that we might know what the state and the church have accomplished, and may reasonably undertake.

It was the purpose, in this paper, to prepare a disquisition and not an argument. The figures and quoted statements from authors named are, therefore, left to work their own way, with what force they may inherently have, without offered inferences or rhetorical enforcement.

We started with the government Report of Dr. Morse, giving the number of American Indians in 1820 as 425,766. We have added to those, on the Mexican census of 1823, the number of 100,826, which body, more or less, and increased or decreased, we took into the American Union, with California, in 1848. These two sums make 526,592 Indians within the present territory of the United States, Alaska excepted, and are to be now accounted for. We have cited authors to show their abundance at times and in sections; also to show the wasting and even total disappearance of powerful tribes, and the reduction of others to feeble and petty remnants, till a half score of old tribes made only a handful for an agency. We have called attention to deficient, and sometimes discrepant, tabulations.

A few totals for a few years from official and annual reports on the Indians may well close this paper. The earliest at hand is for 1866, when their number was 295,774; in 1868 it was 298,528. In 1872 their number reached the maximum in official returns, when it is put "about 300,000." Five years later, 1877, they fell to their minimum reported number, which was 250,864. Six years afterward, 1883, the number had risen to 265,565, but the next year, 1884, fell off to 264,369, — a loss of 1,196. It will be noticed that since 1866 the Indians have decreased 31,405. If we go back to 1823 and take the aggregate numbers of the United States and of California — 526,592 — it will be seen that their decrease since 1823 has been 262,223. It may be well said that the numbers of long ago were a crude estimate, and that losses computed on them will need a wide margin for variation. This cannot be said of the regular government returns of the last

eighteen years, during which the average annual loss has been 1,744.

As has been already stated, in the Indian census only the "civilized" or "partially civilized" are enumerated and reported. All others are unreported, and are reckoned only by estimation. The only guide offered by the Commissioners, as to the number of the uncivilized and unreported, is that the reported are about five sixths of the whole number.

According to the official Reports of the last eighteen years the average decrease of the "civilized" or "partially civilized" has been a little less than 2,000 a year. One of highest authority on this subject, within government circles, informs the author that our Indian statistics are very far from reliable. There are many and obvious reasons for this, and some special ones for making the statement of their numbers in excess of fact. Neither the state nor the church can readily consent to the criticism that the aboriginal race is diminishing under their mutual care, and the error in the statistics is most likely to be in making the number too high. Be that as it may, as the official reports show that there has been a steady decrease for many years in the total of the civilized, the increase, if there has been any, must have been among the uncivilized. It will be a most unwelcome and reproachful inference, if forced on us, that only wild Indians can increase in the United States, while civilization, as we apply it to them, or make a show of it ourselves, on our white borders, is gradually wasting them away, or is proving incompetent to save them from extinction.

And yet another point. It appears that the "civilized" or "partially civilized" Indians, tabulated in the census, are decreasing at the average rate of about 2,000 a year. If, therefore, there is an increase in the total of the aborigines within our borders, it must be among the uncivilized, who are not reckoned in the census. By estimation this unknown quantity is put at about one sixth of the whole, that is, about 50,000, as the reported total for 1885 is 259,244. Thus, to make the increase claimed, this 50,000 of wild Indians must first gain enough to make up the loss of 2,000 a year in the civilized 259,244, and enough more to enable us to say that the American Indians, in their totality, are on the increase. It is an impossible supposition that 50,000 wild Indians are doing this, while five times as many civilized ones cannot hold their own.

In the wasting and disappearing of these ancient and primeval races we cannot too much admire the benevolence and the Chris-

tian tenderness which are comforting their last days and smoothing their trail into the twilight. It is the present highest attainment of our civilization to watch and comfort the dying, till death come, no matter how imbecile or useless or degraded the departing may be. But if our civilization has done its best, and fails to save any of these old tribes, in their separateness, while it appropriates their lands and vitiates their blood till it ceases to flow, and spares only geographical names as memorials, some of its praise must be abated. The civilization which cannot make citizens out of Indians, or the religion which cannot make Christians out of the aborigines, must become modest in its pretensions; and, reasoning from our own home and experiment, it may become a question how far we can make a success in those lines among the inferior in foreign lands. If American Christianity and American civilization can do their best only by easing and gracing the extinction of the East Indian, and Turk, and Chinese, and Hawaiian, preparatory to the supremacy of an English-speaking people over their ancestral domains, the theory of Christian missions exposes itself to grave criticism.

In this home work and threatened failure nothing can be charged off on the government as a force separate from the people. For all practical purposes they are one and the same. The national government on the Indian question is only an *alias* for the people. Probably in the cool, historic period which is coming, where old States and new, and base and border lines shall be blended and the provincial be ruled out by the national, it will appear that civilization and religion had hard times at the front, with scant encouragement, and the Indian and his white neighbor degenerated. For the good of the red man and of the border white man there has been too much East and too little West, and very much foreign, in the divisions and apportionments of our benevolent work and in our popular enthusiasm. Very likely the progressing failure in our civilization and Christianity to save the Indian races will by and by be properly traced, not to any inherent weakness in the systems, but to their unfortunate administration. It is to be devoutly hoped that we will not be too late in the discovery that the household phrase, Home Missions, means for this new and broad continent, the United States, a power to make a nation to order. Providence has given out the order, and if it is not filled the responsibility must come on those having the management of the work.

William Barrows.

THE ETHICS OF "TIPS," FEES, AND GRATUITIES.

By the side of our great social problems, which now occupy the minds of the intelligent, and not unfrequently excite the blind rage of the ignorant and lawless, the question as to whether it is right or wrong to give "tips," fees, or gratuities to waiters, porters, custom-house officials, and others in similar stations, seems one of comparatively little importance. Many Americans who have traveled abroad — whether rich or poor — have been exceedingly annoyed by the tip in England, or the *pourboire* in France, or the *Trinkgeld* in Germany; but they have probably never regarded the fee as more than an objectionable custom, a nuisance, which the pleasant reminiscences of travel help one soon to forget. Yet not all that have lifted up their voices in protest against the feeing-custom content themselves with merely declaiming and protesting against it. Within a few years attempts have been made in Europe, not only by able writers to expose the viciousness of the system, but also by reformers to abolish it. And it is chiefly this serious consideration which the question of tipping and feeing has received abroad — not any presumption to raise it in importance to the level with certain other social problems — that may justify an attempt on our part to bespeak for it the interest of American readers. In the end it may appear that our interest can be based upon something much more vital and substantial than mere literary curiosity. But for the present we are principally concerned with foreign countries.

In the first place, what is a fee? A fee, in the sense in which Americans use the word, or a tip, or gratuity, has been well defined by Rudolph von Ihering, Professor of Law at Goettingen, a writer who has taken up this question from a legal and ethical point of view. A fee, or tip, is money given over and above that which he who does somebody else a service can demand. It is, therefore, a free gift. Hence, if the exact amount of such payment is agreed upon beforehand, it ceases to be a gratuity. A tip is distinguished from a present by its purpose. A tip is given in compensation for services rendered or to be rendered, whereas a present is given merely to show one's good will. Tips, then, might be called imitation or pseudo-wages.

Ihering recognizes three different forms of tips, two of which are, thus far, almost unknown in this country. First, there is the tip so often given in Europe for small favors and services per-

formed in every-day life — *das Gefaelligkeits-Trinkgeld*. Let us congratulate ourselves that we can still expect every one, even the boot-black at the street corner, and the laborer "standing idle in the market-place," to tell us where such and such a street or building is to be found, without seeing him fawn and cringe for a tip.

Secondly, gratuities given in social intercourse — *gesellschaftliche Trinkgelder*. To illustrate: I spend a few days at the house of a friend, and am expected on my departure to fee his servant. Or, as is the custom in certain parts of Germany, I merely go to my friend's dinner-party, stay an hour or two, and depart, after leaving under my plate — such is his hospitality — fifty cents or a dollar, not exactly as the price of my dinner, to be pocketed by my friend, a restaurant-keeper in disguise, but as a gratuity for his butler or his cook. Here, too, we have good reason to be thankful to those who fetch not only their knowledge, but also their perversity, from afar, for not yet having introduced amongst us this laudable (?) custom.

But there is a third kind of tip, the business tip — *das geschaeftliche Trinkgeld*. This is the tip *par excellence*. It is paid to waiters, porters, and custom-house officials, hackmen, etc., and is not wholly unknown in America.

A few questions as to its origin and purpose will help us to penetrate beneath the cloak of generosity or charity which covers its nakedness and will reveal to us its true nature.

What, then, first prompted people to give tips? Ihering's answer is brief and concise, — egotism, selfishness. Nor is the correctness of his assertion difficult to sustain. That a traveler who runs the risk of missing his train unless he crosses the city within a certain time should promise the cabman an extra quarter may be accounted for by the mere thoughtlessness of the traveler, who does not stop to weigh either the motives or the consequences of his act; or, to make it easier, it may be laid to the peculiar constitution of hackney-horses, who can go faster for a dollar and a quarter than for a dollar. But if one who habitually tips the waiter to serve him first, or the railway conductor to give him a compartment by himself, and that to the inconvenience of his fellow-travelers, can still be excused as simply thoughtless, instead of being condemned as selfish, our distinction between those two epithets is not worth a great deal.

In some such way people that thought too much about themselves and too little about their neighbors, and had money enough to indulge their selfishness, became accustomed to give tips and

fees. The natural effect on others was that they, too, unless they wished to be neglected, had to open their purses a little wider. With this step, at least so far as waiters in hotels were concerned, feeling ceased to be the habit of the few, and became established as the custom of the many.

The next stage in the development of the tipping system was probably reached through the interference of the hotel or restaurant keeper. Seeing that his waiters feathered their nests too well, he began to engage them on the condition that they must no longer expect pay from him, but depend upon the generosity of his guests. Indeed, in many cases he would even farm out the most remunerative positions at his disposal and collect from the unfortunate waiters a handsome revenue for the privilege of serving him in a capacity that has earned them as unenviable a reputation for servility as the publicans of old enjoyed for oppression and extortion.

So far, then, we find nothing but selfishness at the bottom of the feeling-custom. First, the selfishness of a few guests or travelers of wealth who secure the waiter's special service by bribes; then, the selfishness of the demoralized waiter who exacts a like bribe from all guests, at the peril of their being neglected; and lastly, the selfishness of the hotel-keeper who grudges the waiter his ill-gotten gain, and by force of his superior position as capitalist, makes him give it up. It was probably at this stage of the development of the feeling-system, Ihering thinks, that some hotel managers, moved, as we may suppose, by the complaints of their customers, began to fix the amount of fees and enter them as regular items on the bills of their guests. This new item was called "*Servis*" or "*attendance*," and the traveler was given to understand that tipping was abolished, and the hotel-keeper had contrived to exact from every customer a fixed extra amount, of which he might give to the waiter as much or as little as he saw fit. No wonder, then, that the waiter thought himself cheated by his employer and began the same old game over again, collecting tips wherever, whenever, and from whomsoever he could, but at first, probably, without being seen by his master. Moreover, since in some instances notice had been given on the bills to the effect that "*porter and boots*" were not included in the *Servis* or *attendance*, those functionaries still claimed their tips, and why, then, should the waiter alone put up with being defrauded out of his due? By this time, it will be seen, the tip had been once abolished, but only in order to be imposed again upon the weary traveler. The

hotel-keeper had avenged himself upon the waiter, the waiter upon the traveler, and as for the traveler — verily, "the last state of that man was worse than the first." The tip had practically been doubled at the traveler's expense; and his selfishness, which first caused him to give tips, had redounded to the discomfort and annoyance of himself as well as of others.

But enough of the history of the custom. What has been given of it applies not to all, but only to most of the countries and cities in Europe. We may suppose the growth and nurture of the usage to have been as various as are now the forms of its existence; and we therefore turn from our inquiry into its origin, which has shown us that it sprung from the root of all evils, namely, selfishness, to mention its most objectionable features.

Some of these have already been alluded to. The most obvious objection to incessant tipping is the expense it causes to the traveler, but it is also one of the least weight. For even the abolition of tips would not necessarily diminish the expense of travel. In some way or other travelers still might be taxed to maintain the same number of servants. Nor would any one demur if he knew that he were always paying a laborer that is worthy of his hire. And this leads us to the next objection.

When my tailor has finished the suit of clothes I ordered of him and I am expected to tip his errand-boy merely for delivering what derives its value wholly from the skill and care of my tailor's cutter, on what ground am I asked to fee the errand-boy rather than the cutter? After having relished the *table-d'hôte* of my hotel twice as much as the insolent politeness of the porter, I am expected to give that porter a quarter of a dollar, but I should only be laughed at were I to send an extra half dollar to the cook in the kitchen; where is the principle on which business of *that* kind is conducted? Is it not mere caprice?

Again, in ordinary business transactions we object to reckoning with unknown factors. We know the value of our commodity, or we can ascertain it by inquiry; in short, prices are either fixed or fixable. Not so with tips, fees, and gratuities. What little of a business-like character there remains in my tipping the tailor's errand-boy instead of his cutter, or the porter instead of the cook, vanishes altogether when I cannot, and the errand-boy or the porter *will* not, tell how much his service is worth. Sound economics condemns my share in such a transaction as culpable wastefulness, and that of the porter as downright beggary.

Consider the trouble, the vexation, the agony that the traveler

suffers in the uncertainty as to the amount of the compensation expected! the meanness for which he reproaches himself when he has given too little, and the self-disgust he feels at having been duped when he suspects that in his generosity he has given too much! These are feelings with which every European traveler is more or less familiar; they remind one of David Copperfield's first experience with a waiter at Yarmouth. "What should you — what should I —" poor Davy asks him, "how much ought I to — what would it be right to pay the waiter, if you please?" Then follows the waiter's pitiful story of his family who have the "cowpock," his supporting "an aged pairint and a lovely sister," his living "on broken wittles" and sleeping "on the coals," and finally Davy's conclusion "that any recognition short of ninepence would be mere brutality and hardness of heart."

Nor are expense to the traveler, misapplied compensation for imaginary services, and uncertainty of the value of real services the only criticisms to be made upon tipping. The strongest objection by far is based on the effect which the custom has upon those who take the tips. Even when a guest or traveler does not fee the waiter beforehand in order to secure at the expense of his neighbors a larger share of service and comfort than he is entitled to, — or, in other words, even when he corrupts nobody by bribery, — he is still paying for service that falls within the ordinary round of the servant's duties and ought, therefore, to be rendered without special compensation. It is true there are exceptions to this. For, as has been said above, there are in some places waiters, porters, and "boots" that receive no pay at all from their employers, and these everybody would probably be willing to except. It is a pity, however, that they are not labeled and thereby distinguished from the rest. But concerning the average receiver of tips, there is but one opinion among those who have ever crossed his path. Whatever may be his personal appearance and his manners, his character is only too often a strange mixture of impudence and servility. And why should it, or how could it, be otherwise? From his very apprenticeship he is taught to reverence those who are lavish with their money and to slight those that are not. But as he gains experience he does not scruple to browbeat and insult the economical customer openly, and to despise the lavish one secretly. His insolence towards the prudent man grows out of disappointment, and his contempt for the spendthrift arises from the fact that he no longer feels himself to be the slave of his guest, but rather his master or tyrant, whose good opinion the guest is fool-

ish enough to buy with a tip. Talk as we may, we are all of us somewhat afraid of incurring the displeasure of those gentlemen in dress-coat or uniform, and this is a weakness of which they never fail to make the most. Not without reason does Chamisso make Peter Schlemihl say, when he meets a company of gay ladies and gentlemen in an English park, that he did not know which to fear most, "die bedienten Herren oder die Herren Bedienten." And yet, it will not do for us to blame the receivers of tips too severely for having forgotten how to do their duty without being tipped as long as we ourselves teach them to neglect it on regular pay. Whoever practices bribery and encourages begging must be prepared for what inevitably follows in the wake of those evils.

But to dwell on those evils will not be necessary after mentioning the worst and the saddest result of feeling and tipping, and that is the loss of self-respect in hundreds and thousands of those who depend upon perquisites. For if ever self-respect has a hard stand it is against confirmed venality and professional mendicancy. Whoever thinks such language too strong for exposing and condemning what no doubt to some people seems only a nuisance, may find even stronger terms used by the writer already referred to, as well as by some others whose articles are mentioned in "Poole's Index." He may, moreover, consider that it is not only the venal custom-house officer and the mendicant porter that share this condemnation, but also, and perhaps chiefly, those persons who make them venal and mendicant: and the larger the claim of such people to intelligence and social standing, the larger their share of the condemnation. But if further testimony is wanted to show that the evil effects of the feeling-system cannot be easily over-estimated, it may be found in the fact that, probably as the direct or indirect result of articles like that of Ihering, the waiters of Vienna themselves have risen to shake off the yoke of the feeling system. So firmly, however, is this system established there that, according to the April number of the "Schank-Gehilfe," their recently founded organ, they dare not expect its complete overthrow for a generation to come.

Other attempts to uproot this vicious custom have been made on a smaller scale and have been successful; others still have been suggested. Here and there notices are posted in European inns and hotels requesting the guests not to give tips, and forbidding the waiters to accept them at the risk of being immediately dismissed. According to Ihering, it is by measures of this or a similar kind that at least two hotels, the "Schweizerhof" at Lu-

cerne, and its namesake at Schaffhausen, have not only not suffered, but even gained in custom and reputation, and that, too, notwithstanding they are forerunners in a cause by no means wanting opposition. It is further suggested by the same writer that the *Servis* or *attendance* be not so much as mentioned on the hotel bills, so as not to remind the waiter of the times when he sat by the fleshpots of Egypt. A still more promising appeal is made to the editors of guide-books to designate the hotels that have abolished tips, and thereby to help on the cause of reform. In short, Ihering regards the question as one belonging to the sphere of national pedagogics, as one "in which everybody who has the welfare of the people at heart should lend a hand. If looked at from this point of view the question is not one of eradicating an evil from which only the higher classes suffer, but which affects the whole people."

And now, after this brief presentation of a problem that has deservedly attracted the attention of some European thinkers and reformers, what remains to be said that could possibly be of special interest to Americans? Not much, it is true. We might stop short with pointing the moral in the words of the old proverb, — An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Still, this would hardly be enough, for although the conditions for naturalizing a foreign plant like the European feeling-custom are not all favorable, there can be no doubt that feeling is on the increase in this country. One would suppose that the house-servant problem which is now and then discussed in our papers ought alone to be sufficient to keep people from creating more trouble and causing demoralization among servants of other occupations by tipping and feeling. What those servants and their occupations are it is no harder to guess than what kind of people generally bribe and demoralize them. The servants are such as come most frequently in contact with the traveling public, and the people themselves are a certain class of the traveling public, a considerable number of those who travel abroad, and whose conduct abroad is as sure to bring Americans into disrepute among Europeans as the notions they fetch home are sure to convey wrong impressions to Americans about Europeans.

With these travelers aping the English, French, and Germans; with others following suit; and with the thoughtlessness of many more, we are no longer surprised to find some of our waiters, porters, hackmen, and railway employees expecting tips from their customers.

But we cannot close without calling attention to a certain American usage which is likely to facilitate the introduction and establishment of the feeing-system amongst us. I refer to the difference in respect to intelligence as well as to social standing between the average receiver of tips in Europe and some of those who take tips in America. It is well known that waiters in France, Germany, and England do not, as a rule, come from the upper classes of society, or make pretensions to more than an ordinary common-school education. When, however, they do, they are generally above accepting tips and fees. Thus, there are employed in some of the largest hotels of London a great many young Germans who spend a year or two abroad in order to learn foreign languages. Among these one is likely to meet with a great deal of respectability and intelligence, and the embarrassing incident that happened to a traveler there last summer has, no doubt, its parallels in the travels of others. A fee was offered to a certain waiter, but was courteously declined, with the remark: "Beg pardon, sir, I do not need any fees, my father is himself the owner of a large hotel in Germany." It is true the reason given for declining the tip was in this case the possession of means, and it remains uncertain how many such refusals are made on the score of intelligence and self-respect only, but there cannot be the slightest doubt as to the fact that a certain degree of education is regarded by Europeans as a sufficient safeguard against temptations that prove too strong for the low-bred and unintelligent.

Is it so amongst us? We fear not. During every summer hundreds of college and academy students, the most intelligent portion of our youth, spend their eight or ten weeks' vacation not only in peddling books with catchpenny titles, but also in serving as waiters in summer hotels, and depending for their earnings — that is to say, not for their support, but for their savings — quite as much on tips as on stipulated wages. Again we repeat, there are exceptions to this, and we gladly recognize them. There are books without catchpenny titles, and there are summer hotels without perquisites. And yet, when one has seen college students return from vacation work of this kind after a week's trial, ashamed of themselves, indignant with their mercenary employers, ready to break their contracts with them and to be sued by them rather than sell themselves, and, withal, not particularly grateful to those who advised them to go, — one cannot but regret that a custom which has been upheld by the selfish and ignorant in

Europe, and the evil consequences of which are so obvious and unendurable that people are trying to abolish it there, should be introduced in America, and even be both directly and indirectly encouraged by the conscientious and the intelligent.

The rapidly increasing custom in America cannot be checked in a day. The comparatively few transient guests who are influenced by printed protests cannot accomplish its abolition by their individual example. A public sentiment against the pernicious usage must be created by public and private social agitation. The class of people that should first feel the force of public opinion is not the waiters and the porters, but the proprietors of hotels and restaurants. We are unwilling to believe that the moral sense of American landlords and waiters will not respond to sentiments of honor and self-respect as quickly as the manhood of the landlords and waiters of Vienna and Lucerne. Free American citizens ought not to be shamed into the practice of minor morals by the example of caste-bound Europeans.

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LANGUAGE AS A POLITICAL FORCE.

THE influence of language in determining the union or separation of communities has become in recent times a commonplace observation. The German Empire owes its growth and strength largely to this force. The Italian kingdom has been almost entirely its creation; and its persistent strength is shown in the disturbing effect which the cry of "*Italia Irredenta*" is still able to produce. The Pan-Slavonian sentiment is appealed to alike by republicans and by Russian monarchists. Napoleon III., with that unpractical subtlety which for a time was mistaken for political sagacity, attempted to arouse a similar sentiment among the "Latin peoples" in favor of his projects. If he failed, it was because he omitted to take into his calculation the stronger forces that overpowered the feeling to which he appealed. He forgot, as Russian and German imperialists are apt to forget, that, strong as the sentiment of race and language may be, the love of liberty is still more potent.

It will be well to investigate with some care the origin of this influence of language in political relations, the direction in which it works, and the limits which must be ascribed to it. It is, of

course, plain enough that persons who speak the same language will be much more likely to form connections — social, commercial, and political — than those who speak different languages. The mere ease of communication is alone sufficient to bring about this result. There is, however, reason to ascribe a profounder origin than this to that readiness to combine which is displayed by people who speak a common language. As a general rule, resemblance of speech denotes a kinship of race. It is, for example, the opinion of ethnologists that all the nations speaking languages of what is termed the Indo-European stock can trace their descent from a common ancestry in the Aryan cattle-herders who once wandered over the plains of western Asia or eastern Europe. Of the existence of this ancestral community no doubt is entertained, although the only evidence relating to it is found in language and some vague traditions preserved in the sacred literature of the Hindoos and the Parsees. In like manner the communities speaking the Semitic languages are regarded as issuing from a single source. Now it is a significant fact that the different nations of the Indo-European stock have always been much more willing to combine together in political and commercial alliances than they have been to unite with those of Semitic origin. There is no instance in history of any close and long-continued union between two communities belonging to these two different stocks, except such as may have arisen from conquest and complete subjection, as when the Romans conquered Judea or the Arabs held Sicily and Spain. How reluctantly the yoke of this alien domination was borne and how persistently the subject communities strove to cast it off are facts which rank among the most notable of historical teachings.

The sense of kinship which exists among nations of the same linguistic family is strikingly shown by the sympathy which has been manifested between the Hungarians and the Turks. Differing widely in religion, in political institutions, and social habits, these two communities find their only bond in a vague and distant connection of language. Slight as this relationship seems, — and it is really not so near as that of English to Armenian, — the sympathy resulting from it has yet been powerful enough to produce an important effect in the international politics of eastern Europe. We get from this fact a notion of the strength of that sentiment of race which lies at the bottom of much of the political movement of our time, and doubtless, in some degree, of all periods. If in our own day it appears to be stronger than in for-

mer times, we can only ascribe this circumstance to the fact that the intercourse between communities is now more easy and frequent than in any previous age.

In reviewing the different aggregations of men, variously styled nations, empires, and federations, in which a considerable population is brought together, it becomes apparent that the influence of language is shown in several distinct modes, each of which requires a special description :

1. When two communities speaking the same language exist side by side, with no physical barrier between them, there is a strong tendency in them to coalesce and unite under one government.

2. This tendency is diminished by any natural obstacle or barrier, — such as an arm of the sea, or a lofty range of mountains, — which interferes with freedom of communication.

3. The tendency to union may also be overpowered by the love of liberty. A community is rarely disposed to desert a republic for a monarchy, even though by such a change it would leave a people speaking an alien language, and would be brought into connection with a nation speaking its own tongue. But it is a noticeable fact that in such a case, even when the smaller community resists the transfer, the larger population speaking its language is constantly inclined to draw it into union.

4. Two or more communities speaking different languages may live in harmony under one government when this government is a federation, and each of these communities is allowed to manage freely its own local affairs.

5. When local self-government is not allowed, a small community included under the same government with a larger population speaking a different language is apt to be a source of disturbance and difficulty in the public administration.

The truth of the first proposition is exemplified in the whole history of Europe, from the time when its population ceased to be nomadic and came into the settled stage. England, France, and Spain are all aggregates, made up in each case of many smaller kingdoms or commonwealths, which were drawn together under one government by the strong attraction of similarity of speech. The union of England and Scotland, and, at a later day, as has been already observed, the formation of United Italy and of the present German Empire, exemplify the same powerful influence. In the New World the same force has manifested itself, first, in the union of the thirteen colonies which formed the United States,

and latterly in the union of the northern colonies composing the Dominion of Canada.

The effect of physical obstacles in diminishing this attraction is shown in the Irish Channel, which keeps even the English speaking portion of Ireland, to a certain extent, out of harmony with the rest of the United Kingdom; in the insular position of Corsica, which, combined with the greater freedom allowed by the French system of government, seems to have completely repressed the earlier inclination of the Corsican people to union with Italy; in the similar position of Newfoundland, which keeps it apart from the Canadian Dominion; in the lofty and almost impassable Andes, which separate Chili from the Argentine Republic; and even, to some extent, in the chain of lakes which interposes between the most populous portion of Canada and the United States. If Corsica adjoined Italy, it would doubtless now be a part of the Italian kingdom. If the Andes did not exist, the Argentine Republic would extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific. If Newfoundland adjoined New Brunswick, it would now be a member of the Canadian Confederation. And if the Great Lakes had not existed, Canada would, in all probability, be now a part of the United States. It is well known that the sentiment in favor of annexation has always been strongest in that portion of the Province of Quebec commonly styled the "Eastern Townships," where an English-speaking population is separated from the United States only by a geographical line. It is easy to foresee that when Manitoba and the other northwestern provinces of the Dominion shall be occupied by a dense population, speaking English, and bordering directly upon thickly settled States of the Union, the tendency on both sides to coalesce will be irresistible. This result will be delayed to some extent by the wisdom which has been shown by the British Government, in not merely granting the utmost possible freedom to its colonies, but in stimulating the exercise by them of the powers of self-government to the utmost possible extent. This remarkable political sagacity, unprecedented heretofore in history, is naturally rewarded by an attachment of the colonies to the mother-country which has been hitherto strong enough to overcome the attraction of a population almost conterminous, speaking the same language, and enjoying equally free institutions. If Canada had been governed from England in the manner in which Cuba is governed from Spain, it certainly would not now be a British possession.

The influence of self-government in securing the attachment

even of a population speaking a different language from that of the central power is strikingly shown in the case of Alsace and Lorraine. The French departmental system was a happy inspiration of the framers of the first French republic. The elective councils of the departments and of the smaller municipal divisions give to the inhabitants that privilege of local self-rule which is dear to the popular heart. Add to this that when, under the Empire, the central government was most autocratic, it was, at the same time, in a certain sense, most democratic, by a system of frequent appeals to the people through the machinery of universal suffrage. When the German communities of Alsace and Lorraine were torn from this genial and sympathetic system, and brought under the harsh and rigid Prussian administration, it is not surprising that the attraction of language ceased to exert its ordinary influence. The fact is only another evidence of the transcendent sway of the love of freedom in the human mind. We see the converse evidence in the readiness with which the people of Savoy, speaking mingled dialects of French and Italian, allowed themselves to be transferred from their hereditary allegiance, with its restricted franchise and its corrupt local administration, to the universal suffrage and multiplied municipal councils of France. Whenever Germany becomes, like France, a democratic republic, we may safely anticipate that the newly regained German provinces, which will then be drawn by the double attraction of language and freedom, will become far more strongly attached to their Teutonic kindred than they have ever been to their Gallic neighbors.

The Swiss republic is a notable instance of the manner in which communities speaking several different languages can be enabled, by the large application of the method of local self-government, to live in harmony under one general authority, for which, under such a system, all the members of the confederacy may come to feel an equal and intense attachment. On the other hand, the fact that, where such local self-government is not allowed, a community separated from its fellow-subjects or fellow-citizens by a peculiar language is apt to be a source of disturbance and danger, is shown by many examples. The remarkable fact is to be noted that when such a community forms a part of a large population which is endeavoring to throw off the yoke of an oppressive government, the smaller community almost invariably takes part with the superior government against the insurgent population. The reason is evident enough. The larger population is apt to be

regardless of the feelings and often of the rights of the smaller community, which naturally looks to the sovereign as its only protector against the encroachments of the majority. Thus it was that the Celts of Scotland and of Ireland took the part of the tyrannical Stuarts against the English-speaking insurgents who expelled that worthless dynasty. Thus it was that the Bretons during the first French Revolution adhered to their Bourbon sovereign against the republican armies; and thus the Basques of Northern Spain maintained the cause of Don Carlos against the constitutional forces. A very curious example of the like nature was shown, on a minute scale, during the Canadian rebellion of 1836.

There were, and still are, in Upper Canada — now the Province of Ontario — several reservations occupied by Indians who had attained a good degree of civilization. There were educated men among them keenly alive to all that was likely to affect the interests of their people. They had felt the slights and dreaded the encroachments of their white neighbors. They were well aware that the English government, illiberal as it then was towards the white settlers, was the firm protector of the aboriginal tribes. They dreaded the change which a popular government might bring; and when that very amusing writer, but eccentric and scatter-brained governor, Sir Francis Head, issued his call to arms to the loyal portion of the community, the Indians responded with the utmost alacrity. Their natural temper would have led them to sympathize with the insurgents; for they are, of all men, the most impatient of arbitrary rule. But in this case, as with the Basques in Spain, the Bretons in France, and the Celts in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, their natural sympathies were overpowered by their sense of the danger to themselves which might arise from the mutual aversion existing between them and their more numerous fellow-subjects.

The danger to freedom and the constant liability to disturbance which result from the inclusion, in a large population, of a small community, speaking a distinct language, can be removed in only two ways. The one is by the extinction of the separate language, and the complete assimilation of the people who speak it. But this is a slow process, requiring usually several generations, and perhaps some severities hostile to good government. The other, and far prompter and surer mode, is by the application of the method of local self-government in some form. The departmental system in France, supplemented by universal suffrage,

converted the suspicious and turbulent Bretons, Alsatians, and Corsicans into the most loyal of Frenchmen. The cantonal governments are the bond and safeguard of Switzerland. The dual government of Austria-Hungary, combined with the system of provincial assemblies, has restored peace and strength to that empire. It would surely be more statesmanlike to employ some similar method for removing the discontent in Ireland and the north of Scotland than to await the result of the slow and severe processes of assimilation and extermination. The population of Ireland is, on the whole, not greatly unlike the population of the Province of Ontario. Under the system which exists in that Province, all classes of its people — English, Irish, Highland Scotch, French, German, and Indian — are peaceful, loyal, and prosperous. If some superior power could sweep away the entire legal and administrative system of Ireland, and establish there the constitution and laws of Ontario, with its county and township councils, its equal laws of inheritance, and its easy transfer of land, it is probable that, after a little friction, the new machinery would be found to work as well in the one country as in the other, and that in twenty years Ireland would become one of the most contented and prosperous portions of the British Empire.

Before the civil war in the United States an opinion was common, and is not yet wholly renounced, that the great extent of the American Union would be likely to lead to its ultimate disruption. There is, however, no instance in history of a large country, in which one language prevailed, being thus broken to pieces, except by the force of foreign conquest. A striking example of the cohesive power of language is found in the instance of China. Here, in a population larger, and a territory not much less than that of Europe, one language prevails, not merely in writing, but, — what is not so commonly understood, — in speech. There are, it is true, many differences of dialect, which make it at first difficult for natives of widely distant localities to understand one another; but the basis and system of the language are the same throughout, and these dialectical difficulties are easily overcome. The Rev. John L. Nevius, who was for ten years a missionary in China, and became thoroughly familiar with the language, both spoken and written, remarks in his excellent work on "China and the Chinese," that the spoken dialects of China resemble the written language, inasmuch as the great proportion of words, and also many of the idioms, or constructions, are the same throughout. "The variations of these dialects," he adds,

"consist in the use of different pronouns and particles, and differences of words and expressions, pronunciations, and tones. Though at first a new dialect, when heard spoken rapidly, seems entirely different, a little attention and study will bring to light familiar words and expressions in new forms, and the transition from one to another is easy, compared to the first acquisition of any of them." China has been under one government for more than twenty-three centuries. During that long period it has been often convulsed by civil wars, and shaken by dynastic changes; and it has been twice subjected to the humiliation of conquest by barbarians. Yet, through all vicissitudes, the provinces have clung together, like the members of some highly organized animal, whose union can only be dissolved by death. The barbarous invaders have been absorbed and assimilated, and the vast empire survives in all its strength, "one and indivisible."

India is not so large as China, is at least as compact, and has a smaller population. Yet the states of India have never, from the earliest times, been united under one government, until the British conquest has brought them all into the dubious union of submission to one overpowering force. No one doubts that as soon as this compressing force is removed, the "Empire of India" will disappear and be resolved into its elements. Why this is inevitable becomes plain as soon as we learn that the various populations of India speak no less than forty distinct languages, which again comprise more than a hundred and seventy dialects. Such is the enumeration of Mr. R. N. Cust — than whom there can be no better authority — in his recent work on the "Modern Languages of the East Indies." Nor can there be any hope, in the present state of things, — among a people, or a congeries of peoples, demoralized by the system of caste and by ages of foreign domination, — that the love of freedom and self-government will supply, as in Switzerland, the cohesive power which might have sprung from a common speech. If, however, a happy fortune shall prolong the British dominion until the English language shall be as generally diffused as the Spanish is in Mexico, and until the natives shall be accustomed to elective institutions, a different result may ensue. The Indian Empire may be succeeded by the Federation of India. This, no doubt, is a vision which to most minds will seem as far off and doubtful as the poetic "Parliament of Man." It is, nevertheless, an object well worth keeping in view, and striving for. Great purposes realize themselves in unexpected ways, — as when a party of enthusiasts, combining to abolish the slave-trade, ended by abolishing slavery.

There are a few instances in modern history in which the tie of language, even when combined with republican institutions and local self-government, seems to have proved ineffectual. Why, it may be asked, should the confederation of Central America, which was formed in 1823 by the five republics of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, San Salvador, and Honduras, have been broken up in 1839, and have since been incapable of reuniting? And why should the United States of Colombia, formed in 1819 by Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador, have fallen apart in 1829? The answer to these questions is easy enough. The supposed tie of language did not really exist. In Central America the mass of the population is made up of Indian tribes, speaking many different tongues. In Guatemala, for example, out of a total population of 1,500,000, only about 20,000, or a little more than one per cent., are of purely Spanish origin. More than half — 900,000 — are Indians of the full blood, and about 580,000 are of mixed descent. From Dr. Otto Stoll's excellent work on the Ethnography of Guatemala (Zurich, 1884) we learn that the number of languages spoken by the Indians of this republic is no less than nineteen, and these belong to four distinct linguistic stocks, as unlike to one another as the Semitic stock is to the Indo-European. In Nicaragua it is computed that out of every thousand inhabitants only about fifty are of pure white descent; the rest are Indians and half-castes. The Indians, as we learn from the Introduction to Dr. Brinton's recent work, "*The Güegüence*," speak three distinct languages, not one of which belongs to the same stock (the Maya) which is most widely diffused in the neighboring Province of Guatemala. No possible community of feeling can exist among these isolated bands, differing not merely in language, but in customs, character, and habits of thought, without, so far as it appears, a single link of sentiment or tradition to bring them together.

That the United States of Colombia should have been unable to maintain their union will not surprise us when we learn that in one of the states, Venezuela, only about one per cent. of the population is of purely European blood, and that in another, Ecuador, the great mass of the people are Indians, speaking no less than eleven distinct languages. Throughout these states, however, as everywhere else in Spanish America, the Castilian speech is steadily gaining ground, and with it is growing the disposition for union. The period will undoubtedly arrive when the Spanish language will be generally spoken from the northern border of

Mexico to Patagonia, except in Brazil and in a few European dependencies. When that period arrives, it is probable that but three Spanish-American governments will remain. The vast empire of the Incas will be renewed in a still vaster confederation, stretching from the Caribbean Sea to the Island of Chiloe. East of the great barrier of the southern Andes, the Argentine Republic will absorb Paraguay and Uruguay. In North America, the Mexican Union, expanding southwards, will ultimately prevail from the southern limit of the United States to the Isthmus of Darien. Such is the result, on the western continent, to which the great forces of language and freedom, working together, are steadily tending, with the silent but irresistible energy of natural laws.

These predictions, it may be added, need not disquiet the most conservative mind. Many generations are likely to elapse before the Spanish language becomes the general speech of Central and South America. The union of the United States and Canada, judging from the feeling which prevails on both sides of the dividing line, is at least so remote as not to come within the sphere of practical politics. The object of this paper is not to indulge in the idle amusement of political prophecy, nor yet, by any means, to exalt the influence and value of language as a social and political force. Its purpose is rather to show the limitations and the dangers of this force. As has been seen, physical obstacles, — an arm of the sea, a range of mountains, — can interrupt it. The love of freedom can completely overpower it. When acting in conjunction with free institutions, its strength is great and useful. On the other hand, — and this is the most important and the most practically urgent consideration, — when the forces of language and of the political system are opposed, the peril to the community is constant and serious. There is hardly one of the great states of Europe which has not experienced and does not now feel, either at home, or in its dependencies, this peril. The kingdom of Hungary in Austria, the kingdom of Poland in Russia, the Polish provinces of Prussia, the Basque provinces of Spain, the Celtic districts of Britain, the Maori districts of New Zealand, the Dutch settlements in South Africa, the half-breed settlements in Canada, are sources of perpetual difficulty and danger to their respective governments, requiring incessant prevision and permanent safeguards. France alone, in her domestic policy, seems to have solved the problem and dispelled the peril. Universal suffrage, departmental councils, and equal laws of inheritance, have transformed Germans,

Bretons, Basques, and Italians into Frenchmen as loyal and devoted to their country as any of their French-speaking compatriots. This is a practical lesson which statesmen of all countries will do well to lay to heart. The strongest and most enduring of bonds is found not in kindred or in force, but in free institutions and equal rights.

Horatio Hale.

CLINTON, ONTARIO, CANADA.

EDITORIAL.

THE AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT OF LEISURE.

ONE of the most interesting features of social development in this country is the tendency, which has had a recent and rapid growth, to separate a portion of time each year from the habitual pursuit and to devote it to rest and recreation. In this respect there has been a very considerable change in the habits of the people during the last twenty years. Within a shorter period, indeed, the custom has had a wide extension, so that, as compared with the previous decade, annual migrations to the seashore and mountains are now surprisingly increased. A larger proportion of our prosperous classes secures a long vacation now than at any former time. The changes in conduct of business, in style of living, and in social relationships which this addition of leisure involves, are significant indications of a profound movement going forward silently in the private life of the people.

For two hundred years after the settlement of the country, hard work was the rule and leisure the exception. Necessity forced the Puritans to toil without cessation through the entire year. Public opinion did not allow a healthy person to be idle except on Sunday, Thanksgiving day, and Fast day. The necessity for unbroken toil continued more than two centuries, for the country was still new, and there was but a small number raised above the conditions of manual labor. The actual circumstances of the people, with the necessities involved, created a public opinion which was intolerant of ease, luxury, and self-indulgence. There was thought to be something virtuous in dogged industry, and something vicious in even a temporary respite from labor. The command which enjoined the Sabbath of rest equally enjoined the six days of work. In the Southern States, it is true, the case was different. Slavery made labor degrading, and produced an aristocracy of idleness. But growing opposition in the North to slavery reacted to enthrone labor as if it had some sort of sacredness in itself. Political conscience confounded the evils with the mere incidents of a great national sin. Since the war various changes have occurred which, instead of having been produced by the war, would perhaps have come about earlier but for the operation of causes which at length precipitated the rebellion, and among those changes is that which we are now considering. At all events, until recently the migratory habit was not formed. There was no exodus from the city, no influx to the country. Clergymen took no vacation because no considerable portion of their people took vacation. The man of business was in his office or at his factory early and late, winter and summer. Besides Newport, there was scarcely any colony of fine houses and fashionable leisure. The completeness of the contrast may be seen in the fact that rest and pleasure are no longer stolen, but are recognized as

legitimate and necessary. Whereas formerly one apologized for absence from business, now apology is made for staying at home. If circumstances forbid a journey away, mortification is felt, while some have been known to close the front of the house and live concealed in the rear. The prosperous man no longer boasts that he has not lost a day from his business for ten or twenty years. He no longer contends that the city is very comfortable in July and August. Those who can manage for it have two houses, and extend as far as possible the time spent in the summer home. Also, prolonged absences in Europe are becoming so common as to excite no more than civil interest in those who stay at home. It is, indeed, rather difficult to find a person with any kind of social standing who has not traveled and even resided abroad.

The direct causes of the development of leisure are so obvious that it is scarcely necessary to mention them. Facility of communication and of travel expedite business so that time is gained for other uses, and easy access also given to distant places. The larger proportion of people in cities provides increasing numbers who seek the country for quiet pleasures. The increase of wealth furnishes means for the enjoyment of leisure, not only for those who amass fortunes, but for the many who in other occupations gain better remuneration. And all the conditions which promote intelligence and culture create a desire for leisure in which part of life may be reclaimed from sordid uses.

The interest of our subject is in an inquiry concerning the advantage of the new customs. Some are not altogether certain, in fact are very doubtful, whether or not any decided benefits accompany the change. It is said that people were not formerly so restless, that they remained quietly at home, that they were happy and healthy in a simple, economical; industrious life. Our purpose, then, is to suggest some of the large advantages of the development of leisure which are usually overlooked. We are not ignorant of the evils, not to say silliness, of display at summer resorts, nor of the follies and vanities which invade the most quiet retreats. But these, we are inclined to believe, are incidental, although they may never entirely disappear.

The principal benefit is in the counteraction of that spirit of mercantilism which is generally recognized as a source of serious danger. Business has become too absorbing. When industry is exalted to a virtue, the successes of industry are rated at too high a value. The wealth which a new country offers to those who will work for it becomes the chief end of man. The means to a higher end is converted into an end in itself. Now, almost anything which can check this tendency is to be desired. Whatever can awaken another interest and introduce another standard is to be commended. If the period of respite from business is extended, and if it is valued because one can get out of the routine of his occupation, something is gained. Even if no very worthy use of leisure is made, and unless it is badly misused, there is appreciable benefit. If the two, three, four months are only idleness, only drifting on the current of cus-

tom and of harmless frivolity at a resort, it is better than drudging twelve months without so much as a parenthesis of respite. It is true, and is often remarked, that some men do not know how to enjoy themselves when they get a vacation, that they talk shop, and are restless till they are at work again. But even with them it is a break and a change not without an enlargement of horizon. A season in one's summer home introduces new objects of interest. He meets people from other parts of the country and must search for themes of common interest. He soon finds that if he talks about his own affairs he is voted a bore and is neglected. Conversation turns, therefore, to politics, home and foreign, to new books, to scenery, to yacht races, to small talk. He meets bright people, and his own wits are sharpened. He finds that he has forgotten business for a whole day. He leaves his letters unopened till a later hour or the next morning. He seeks the company of gentlemen from another city than his own. Much that is said and done may seem trivial, but it serves as a diversion from the narrow current of mercantile life. Local colonies within a few miles of a city, where all the residents are associated in business and travel back and forth together every day, serve scarcely any other purpose than to give change of air, and are to be encouraged only because for many men nothing better is practicable. But at greater distance the absorbing interest dwindles as it recedes, and is replaced by that which for the time is nearest. New objects do engage attention, and there is the opening of a stage of action beyond the mere earning an income and amassing wealth. Moreover, as to style of living, in equipage, residence, decoration, dress, and manners, the simple and dignified are constantly gaining ground. Display is reckoned vulgar. Intelligent, cultivated people take the lead, attract acquaintance, determine the tone, set the fashion more and more. Those who come into such associations feel the refining influence and share the wider outlook. Men of business, especially younger men, are ambitious to be qualified for bearing their part in the social life about them, and make it an object to be versed in matters which are apart from mercantilism.

Again, periods of leisure contribute to the enrichment of social and therefore of individual life, by affording more time for it. The conditions of a more satisfying and refined social development are at hand as never before, and need only the occasion to have a worthy development. Thus, there is an increasing proportion of educated men outside the learned professions. Graduates of college, in large numbers, enter business. Secular occupations engage the energies of well-informed and well-disciplined minds. Women are highly educated. Piano-playing is no longer the only accomplishment. Now, while business is pressing, but little time is available for social intercourse. It is fragmentary and superficial. It is snatched from absorbing engagements, and cannot command freshness of mind and body. It is not in the interstices, but in the prolonged periods of leisure that intelligent people can enjoy satisfying interchange of ideas and sympathies. Why does the merchant send his

son to college? He sneers sometimes at college-bred men, but he wishes his own son to go through college. It is because he wishes his son to take a place among cultivated people; because he feels the restrictions by which he has himself been shut out from social influence and enjoyment; because he knows that a man needs resources of culture which manufacture and trade, however extensive, cannot supply. This increase of educated men and women creates a requirement for increased opportunities of social intercourse.

Again, leisure gives opportunity for literary work. Young men who inherit wealth aspire to distinction in letters, or at least to some influence through the press. Our periodical literature, which is already of a high order, though not yet up to the standard of English reviews and journals, is largely created by men who pursue special studies in the intervals of leisure which they preëempt from business and profession. With such objects in view, students whose fathers are rich work hard in college. It is no longer true that the poor boys are the most diligent scholars. Women also, being relieved from the corrosion of incessant household cares, read widely, and write, often with conspicuous ability.

There is not in this country a class wholly at leisure, whose members are free to devote themselves to literary or political careers. It is the exception to meet a man who has no regular occupation. The development of leisure has not advanced far enough to create such a class, and probably will not for many years. Therefore, whatever of influence, tone, and elevation, leisure promotes, is to be looked for from those who disengage only a portion of the year from active pursuits.

It is asked what the future development of leisure will be. When one is at a rapidly growing summer resort, and sees the elegant residences which are multiplying, and the habits of luxury which prevail, he inquires how far this tendency will go. It is safe to predict that the characteristics of this phase of American life are already determined for some time to come. What has been going on will continue, only on a larger scale. Simplicity and quietness will be more and more the rule, excesses of fashion will be reduced, the solid comforts will be valued more highly, the natural pleasures will be more generally appreciated. There will not be such a use of leisure as is common in England, for there is not here an entire class exempted from the world's work, but, as in England, there will be a more moderate estimate of wealth and trade, a higher value attached to letters, culture, politics.

The development of leisure raises serious questions in the minds of some observers. The employment of so much time in mere enjoyment, and the growth of luxurious habits, seem out of keeping with earnest Christian toil and warfare. The duty of the followers of Christ to preach the gospel and save the world seems to conflict with the tendency we are discussing. Imagine Saint Paul, it is said, spending three months at a summer resort. Should not one live for others rather than for his own pleasure or even for the enrichment of his life by society, and travel,

and culture? Out of such reflections proceed the harsh criticisms often made on those who live in luxury and enjoy long periods of leisure. But all Christians cannot be preachers. The majority of Christians must be in the occupations of business and the relations of society. Even in the early church all could not be Pauls. Philemon, who owned slaves, probably lived in a comfortable house, may have had a stylish equipage, and have entertained handsomely. And each generation must develop according to the conditions of the time. The apostolic age could not be the type of succeeding ages. But the real inquiry is whether the intelligence, culture, comfort, and luxury, the art, literature, discovery, which are component parts of civilization are legitimate and necessary. If these are not to be condemned, but are essential to the growth of the kingdom of God on earth, then it is right, indeed it is necessary, within appropriate limits, for this and that individual to participate in them. The question really is concerning the breadth and refinement which are proper to Christian character.

One should live for the sake of others, it is true. But in order to do good to others he must make the most of himself. A man who is narrow, coarse, intolerant, ignorant, cannot be an efficient servant of such a Master as Christ. Also, he serves others, not merely that they in turn may serve others, for then no intrinsic good would be reached, but that those he serves may realize the best of which they are capable in striving to approach the symmetry of Christian character.

Everything that has life is both a means and an end, but neither exclusively. As one has no right to use another merely as a means to some end, so he has no right to reduce himself to a device for accomplishing some end. Being and doing are inseparable. To do a man's work one must be a man. To do a Christian's work one must be a Christian. To the character of a Christian belong those things which are lovely, true, honorable, and of good report. To possess them he may not disdain anything that enriches a true life. Our Lord's prayer for his disciples was not that they should be taken out of the world, but that they should be kept from the evil. They were to live in the world, both because the world needed them, and because they needed what the world of business, of struggle, of social life and of advancing knowledge could give them.

Leisure has its dangers, but so has occupation. And as the world's wealth is auxiliary to the kingdom of Christ, so is all that refreshment which makes Christians more vigorous, more wise, and more sympathetic for the work which is given them to do.

SECRETARY ALDEN'S DIFFICULTY: THE WAY OUT.

"ANY suggestions upon the matter from the friends and patrons of the Board will be most gratefully received at the Missionary Rooms.

"E. K. ALDEN, Home Secretary [of the American Board]."

This invitation is published in a number of newspapers, particularly journals of the Congregational order. When counsel is solicited it is of the first importance that the occasion for advice and the subject upon which it is asked should be clearly understood. The Home Secretary offers this explanation:—

"Thus far action has been taken by the Committee in the case of two candidates who had serious doubts and difficulties in relation to the decisive nature of the human earthly probation, this action being expressed in terms similar to what have been generally employed, when, for any reason, a case is not fully satisfactory; viz., 'Voted that it is inexpedient to appoint at present,' the words 'at present' indicating that such appointment after further correspondence or conference may be made at some future day. The Committee has not felt at liberty as yet to say or do anything which might be interpreted as committing the Board to the omission from the 'doctrines commonly held by the churches sustaining the missions under the care of the Board' of that which is included in the statement, found in so many of their declarations of faith, that the issues of the final judgment are 'determined by the deeds done in the body.'

"Before taking so serious a step as such a change would involve, the Executive Officers and Prudential Committee wait instructions from the Board from which they have received their trust. This course they think will commend itself to their constituency better than any other which has yet been suggested to us."¹

We presume that upon this statement of the case the Secretary will receive not a few responses commending the wisdom of the course pursued. Certainly no reasonable man can expect the American Board to depart from the faith of the churches which sustain it, by a sin either of "omission" or commission. Nor will any one doubt that among the doctrines cherished by its constituency is that of final judgment according to "the deeds done in the body." This doctrine of retribution, taught by the Apostle Paul, whose words are cited in many creeds, is accepted by all those, so far as we are aware, whose services the Secretary has deemed it his duty during the past year, directly or indirectly, to repel. Their number must not be inferred from his specification of "two" candidates. We have in mind, as we write, more than a dozen cases of such loss of service to the Board. These persons are members of evan-

¹ Extract from a letter published in *The Advance*, July 1st; *The Golden Rule*, July 1st; *The Christian Union*, July 9th; and partially reproduced in other newspapers. As printed in *The Golden Rule*, the opening sentence, claiming that the letter is sent "in behalf of the Secretaries of the American Board," is not printed, and we presume was intentionally omitted by the signer. We are informed that the letter was not submitted to the Prudential Committee, though it claims to speak for them; also that the Committee has not authorized the statement that it is waiting for instructions from the Board.

gelical churches; in almost every instance, probably in every one, they are members of Congregational churches. They have joined these churches by accepting their creeds. Some of them are ordained Congregational ministers, having received from Ecclesiastical Councils the fellowship of the churches as teachers of the doctrines commonly held by them. Others have obtained approbation to preach the gospel from large and influential Congregational Ministerial Associations, — an approbation unanimously given, and, in one case which we recall, with special commendation. They are men whom the Home Missionary Societies gladly commission, and in some cases have commissioned. Not one of them would fail of receiving cordial ministerial fellowship from any fairly constituted Ecclesiastical Council or Association of Congregationalists in any part of the United States or Great Britain. Most if not all of them who have contemplated service as missionaries have been solicited by missionaries in active service to enter upon work with them. They are men free from hobbies, able to see truth in a proper perspective and proportion, coöperative in their spirit, highly commended in all requisite personal qualifications. One is the son of a veteran and most highly esteemed missionary of the Board, and speaks the language of the people whom he desires to serve.

The "Congregationalist" says that the Board should appoint only "evangelical" men, and defines the qualifying word by adducing the articles of "The Evangelical Alliance." We have no doubt that every one of these applicants could subscribe to such a declaration as heartily as the members of the Alliance. The shibboleths which have been raised in objection to their appointment find no place in such a creed, or in any catholic evangelical confession. When the "Congregationalist" speaks of men who "propose to preach probation after this life to those who sit in the region and shadow of death," if it refers to any of these men, it is grossly misinformed, and should recall its words. They cannot be applied to any cases before the Prudential Committee, or included in the number of those to whom we have referred, — if they mean what they seem to say, namely, that men are offering themselves who propose to preach to the heathen that they will have a probation after this life, — without a slander which if paralleled in business circles concerning a man's business reputation would make the utterer liable in courts of justice and would drive him from State Street or Wall Street. We are familiar with the doctrinal statements and positions of all the persons to whom we refer, and whose cases occasion the present discussion. We know perfectly of what we affirm. They accept the Congregational Creed by which churches are organized and ministers are fellowshiped. They hold no opinions not freely countenanced in the Congregational denomination. They preach the necessity, and the immediate obligation, of faith in an offered Saviour. They know no other Name. They hold up his Cross. They rely on his Spirit. They are consecrated to his service and kingdom. They offer no future

opportunities to those to whom they point out the way of salvation. If they cannot serve Christ in preaching the gospel to the heathen abroad, they will not lack opportunities of preaching it in the Christian churches at home — perhaps in pulpits now occupied by men who are ready to say to them, 'You are not fit to teach a poor pagan the way of life.'

Dr. Alden draws the picture with easy and flowing lines. His representation is that the "candidates" doubt "the decisive nature of the human earthly probation," an ambiguous and possibly doubly erroneous statement. What is meant by "the human earthly probation?" What are its bounds and conditions? Does the word "human" signify that it is co-extensive with humanity? If not, who are exempted? What is "*the*" human earthly probation? No one of the candidates questioned the decisive nature of human earthly probation in some cases, or under certain conditions. Dr. Alden does not affirm it, nor does any other intelligent man, of all human beings. The statement, correctly given, would read: 'The candidates did not hold a particular definition of the human earthly probation.' As it now reads it manages at once to say too little and to say too much. The Secretary, however, intimates that the candidates rejected, not a private definition, but a common doctrine of the churches, namely, "The issues of the final judgment are 'determined by the deeds done in the body.'" Whether this language expresses such a doctrine or not depends upon the meaning given to the word "determined," and especially upon the application given to the words quoted from Paul. The passage cited reads: —

"We are of good courage, I say, and are willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be at home with the Lord. Wherefore also we make it our aim, whether at home or absent, to be well-pleasing unto Him. For we must all be made manifest before the judgment-seat of Christ; that each one may receive the things [done] in the body, according to what he hath done, whether [it be] good or bad."

"The 'we all' who are to appear together, refer specially here to the preachers and those they have preached to," says the distinguished exegete, Dr. Riddle, of the Hartford Theological Seminary, and this is perfectly evident from the context. These words quoted so often in the creeds must have in them their Pauline meaning, unless the writers or affirmers of the creeds indicate that they use them for a wider purpose. This broader application sometimes appears in the creeds, but even then there is no reason to suppose that it was in the intent and purpose of the framers to prescribe a positive doctrine about the probation of the heathen. The words are ordinarily used for moral impression upon those who hear the creeds recited, and for confession of the Christian faith of those who repeat them. It is wholly unfair to appropriate an incidental and unmeditated extension of their meaning in a few local creeds, or one founded on an obviously erroneous interpretation of Paul's language, as though this were evidence of the generally accepted and deliberate belief of the churches to-day. In the great majority of in-

stances, so far as we have examined, the local creeds give no unbiblical extension to Paul's language. A universal judgment is affirmed, but not a doctrine of the intermediate state, or of the present life, as related to men who have never heard of Christ. As we have pointed out, the "candidates" in question are members of Congregational churches, and have accepted their creeds. Moreover, Dr. Alden overlooks the fact that there is a better standard than any individual church creed. The Congregational body, after protracted discussions, and through the agency of its National Council, created a Commission to state the doctrines as now commonly held by the churches. We may be thought to have an interest, at least of argument, at stake if we emphasize the representative character of this creed. We will therefore quote the recent language of an experienced and candid observer, President Patton:—

"Precisely here is found the value of what has come to be known as 'The New Creed.' Some think to disparage it by calling it 'weak,' the expression of the opinion of only twenty-two men. But those were twenty-two men selected carefully for the purpose by a special committee of the Triennial Council, after months of deliberation; and they bestowed three years of patient thought upon the problem submitted. This problem was not to find or devise a statement of all Christian truth, but to set forth the points of faith in which, as a matter of fact, the Congregational churches were united. Anything else was outside of their province. It is generally conceded that they did *that* work well, and their form of statement has consequently been used for several years as a basis for the organization of new churches, while its acceptance has been allowed at the East and at the West by councils to indicate soundness of doctrine in those who appeared before them for ordination or installation. It would seem, then, to furnish to our missionary societies a very desirable and natural aid in ascertaining the fitness of applicants to be sent into either the home or foreign field. That it is new is altogether in its favor for this specific purpose. An old confession of faith may tell us of the doctrines in which the Congregational churches were agreed, two centuries ago; but how can it assure of those in which the churches are now agreed? Only the New Creed can testify on that point, and thus enlighten missionary committees as to available men. Its testimony ought to be received."¹

Let now this fact again be emphasized: Every one of those persons concerning whose appointment the Executive Officers and the Prudential Committee are represented as seriously embarrassed,² stands squarely on this Congregational Creed.

We conclude, therefore, that the difficulty which leads the Secretary to appeal to the public for suggestions of relief is largely one of his own creation. It is an unnecessary difficulty, and ought not to have been

¹ *The Advance*, July 8th.

² The statement respecting embarrassment requires qualification. The Senior Secretary of the Board, Rev. Dr. Clark, does not share Dr. Alden's embarrassment, so as to be constrained to agree with his policy of refusing or deferring appointments. Neither do several members of the Committee, among them its honored Chairman.

raised. The Secretary may fairly claim — although an editorial in the "Congregationalist" of July 8th indicates that new ground may be taken, namely, that the Board, and the Prudential Committee as representing the Board, are independent of the churches and not responsible to them — that he and the Committee should be governed by the faith of the churches which are its constituency. We understand this to be the position which he takes in his letter. Our point in reply to his request for suggestions is: the churches, by numerous ordaining Councils, by Associations of ministers recommending as preachers young men whom they have examined, by the work of their Commission and the general acceptance of its Creed, have relieved you of embarrassment. There is a general accord that on certain questions, of theology rather than of evangelical doctrine, and among them questions concerning the intermediate state and the opportunities of grace which in the mercy of God may be available for men who are reached here by no motive of redeeming love, there shall be liberty of opinion. Where the Scriptures are decisive, faith is defined. Where the Scriptures do not decide, or their meaning is matter of inference more or less doubtful, and waits to be discovered and affirmed, if at all, as the result of protracted scholarly investigations and prayerful contemplation and the general advance of Biblical learning and theological thought, it is a sin and shame to attempt to repress inquiry and put yokes on men's consciences. There are revelations concerning the last things which the church affirms continuously as a part of her faith. The damnation of the mass of the heathen, final, irreversible, without an offer of a Saviour, is not — thank God! — a part of the Congregational Creed, nor of the belief of the church catholic, and any attempt to enforce it is a serious blunder. The churches, notwithstanding all the alarms that have been rung, and the efforts of powerful denominational leaders and journals, have steadily persevered in conceding liberty of opinion on this subject. No person, otherwise qualified, has long been denied ordination for claiming and exercising such freedom. We believe that a clear, unembarrassed, decisive answer to the question from the Missionary Rooms is given in these facts. *Let the same liberty of opinion be conceded to the foreign missionary that the churches concede to home missionaries and to pastors.* We ask no more. No less can long be withheld. The practical recognition of this simple principle will close the controversy, and leave the missionary work to go on practically undisturbed, or rather reinvigorated and accelerated.

We are not ignorant of the objections which will be raised to such a concession. But the question is urgent: What answer shall be given to the men now offering themselves for missionary service who believe that the facts of the Incarnation and the Universality of the Atonement shed light upon the tremendous problem of human destiny

beyond the circle of that small portion of the race to whom Christ has here been proclaimed? The question arises in the natural movement of Christian thought. It is not a forced issue. It comes up through the progress of Biblical interpretation, the more thorough Christianizing of doctrinal theology, the larger study of the heathen religions, the growing interest of young men in Christian work. It cannot be set aside. The only answer which will save trouble in the end is one which concedes the rights of all evangelical pastors and churches, of all members of these churches, of all young men in whose hearts has been kindled the passion for souls, to such share in foreign missionary service as they are fitted, and the agency of the Board can enable them to take. The Board is but an instrumentality, useful so far as it puts men into the field, sustains them while there, promotes the missionary spirit at home; useless, and worse than useless, so far as it has a policy and will of its own distinct from the great purpose and end of the Christian church, and whenever it becomes an obstruction instead of a help in raising up missionaries and aiding them to their work. It is not necessary for a church member to be a foreign missionary to become identified with the work of missions. The number who ought to engage in personal service on foreign soil is relatively very small. The missionary brigade must consist of picked men,—very few compared with the host behind them. Qualifications which are not required for other forms of Christian activity must be exacted. Ordination to the Christian ministry may not cover some requisites which are indispensable. The church must employ some agency—the Prudential Committee has rendered such a service to its constituency—to select the fit men. The duty is a delicate and difficult one. It requires an examination of candidates which exceeds that of ordaining Councils, the institution of relations between candidates and their examiners peculiarly confidential, fraternal, trustful and loving. It calls for an abundance of mutual charity. But because men must be *selected*, because only comparatively few can be sent, because the qualifications are in some respects peculiar and exacting, it is indispensable that the tests of fitness be obviously appropriate, transparent in their Christian simplicity, absolutely free from all suspicion of partisanship, or arbitrariness, or lack of doctrinal catholicity. The Manual of the Prudential Committee—it has never been adopted by the Board—is thought by some to need additional changes more perfectly to adjust it to present conditions. However this may be, it is, as it stands, the outcome of tried wisdom and long experience. It is marked by point, practicality, and a commingling of specifiveness and explicitness with judicious reserve. Of the twenty-two questions which applicants for appointment are requested to answer “with all convenient brevity,” twenty relate directly to personal qualities and relations. The two inquiries which refer to doctrinal views are very general: “What, in your view, are the leading doctrines of the Scriptures?” “Have you doubts respecting any of the doctrines commonly held by the churches sustaining the missions under the care of

the Board ; or any views relating to church organization and government which would prevent your cordially recognizing, as ministers of Christ, the missionaries employed by the Board ? ” The only allusion to a creed is in the statement that a missionary’s teaching “ must be conformed to the evangelical doctrines generally received by the churches sustaining the Board, and set forth in their well-known Confessions of Faith.” Such a creed as that put forth by the Commission accords perfectly with this description, but no private or merely local confession does so. Elsewhere it is stated : “ The Board is not an ecclesiastical body. It is a glorious fact, that the points which constitute emphatically *the message* of missionaries to the heathen are those in which all evangelical bodies mainly agree.” There have been great changes in religious opinions since the Board was organized. There have been vehement theological controversies, personal estrangements whose records appear in painful chapters of the biographies of men all of whom were warm supporters of the Board. But the Manual shows no trace of these excitements and antagonisms. The Secretaries and Committee in days past have had their private theological opinions, but the Manual has not reflected them. Taylorites and Tylerites, Old School men and New School, and even men from Oberlin, if they would not press perfectionism to a quarrel over it, were cordially welcomed to service under the one Saviour and Lord. It has not been esteemed a function of the management of the Board to adjudicate upon theological disputes, but simply to ascertain an applicant’s qualification for missionary work. Examinations have been conducted for this end, to secure this requisite information. A candidate’s way of holding debatable opinions may be a subject of inquiry as a test of his common sense, — so essential a quality in a foreign missionary. But the Manual gives no hint that any other standard of orthodoxy is admissible than one that is “ well-known,” that gives the common faith, that covers the points in which evangelical Christians “ mainly agree.” The making a creed which embraces other points the decisive test, or the subjecting candidates to inquiries which imply the necessity, in order to appointment, of assent to a particular type of theology distinct from other types in the fellowship of the churches, is contrary to the spirit and method of the Manual.

It is, indeed, triumphantly asked : Did the fathers ever appoint foreign missionaries who admitted that the heathen may have an opportunity of salvation beyond the present life ? And because this question cannot be answered in the affirmative, no application of the sort being known, the inference is drawn that to accept such candidates now is to break with the traditions of the Board.

But this is to follow the letter and lose the spirit. The Manual teaches a better philosophy and method. The fathers, it testifies, emphasized essentials. They turned not to the right hand nor to the left on account of the disputes of theologians, and the controversies of the schools. They did not test men by a particular creed, but by one “ well known.” They

questioned upon the *doctrines* commonly held by the churches, not upon theological inferences, and private speculations, and unfolding germs of truth in the warm and productive atmospheres of Princeton and New Haven and Oberlin. They wanted live and stirring men, trained to think for themselves and able to declare the faith once for all delivered to the saints in forms adapted to varying conditions of thought and life, and when they found such men they did not turn them off because one privately believed that Dr. Taylor was more a heretic than a theologian, and another was almost ready to be martyred for his faith that there never was a theologian before Dr. Taylor, who so explained the divine moral government that only the fool could now err in understanding it; that is, if both at bottom were seen to have common sense enough to know, and the test was not severe, that the end of missionary labor is not Tylerism nor Taylorism, but the winning souls to Christ and the establishment of his kingdom. Any narrower policy is mistaken and perilous. It is a grievous departure from the traditions of the Board. It puts the Board into a wrong relation to its constituency; awarding to it an independent doctrinal sovereignty, making it a ruler over men's faith, instead of a servant of the churches and an instrumentality for their larger Christian usefulness. Whatever, from a legal point of view, may be the corporate rights of the Board, it will be for it a fatal day if it resorts to these as the necessary defense of its policy. Such a defense would be the swiftest accuser of the policy that requires it.

There are great difficulties in the way of the policy of rejecting men otherwise well qualified because they exercise the same liberty of thought conceded to home missionaries and Congregational pastors.

Such a policy sets up two standards of faith, one for home, the other for foreign application. It says to a young man, You can offer yourself to the Home Missionary Societies, and be accepted; but you cannot expect appointment from the Prudential Committee. They have a standard of their own. If you would know what it is, see Dr. Alden's letter to Mr. Joseph Cook (with creed annexed), explaining why he could not agree with his twenty-two brethren of the Commission, or study the same creed in its 'Worcester phase.' 'But why,' asks the candidate, 'may I not take the Commission's Creed? Does not the Manual refer to a "well-known" Confession?' 'Oh! Yes, that will do for a minister in Boston or Chicago, or on the frontier, but not for one in Mexico or Japan.' This is not fancy, but fact. The two men recently practically rejected by the Prudential Committee are both now engaged in home missionary service, — one, we suppose, under the auspices of a missionary society. Not long before they applied for appointment a pastor was installed in Boston over a Congregational church. The Council was presided over by the Home Secretary of the American Board. Three clerical members of the Prudential Committee were members of this Council. The pastor was unanimously accredited and fellowshiped as a preacher of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The two young

men were refused appointment as foreign missionaries solely on doctrinal grounds, and yet no microscope was ever invented, or could possibly be made, strong enough to detect any material difference in favor of his opinions as compared with theirs. The excuse is made that he took the creed of the church over which he was installed. But they too are members of Congregational churches whose creeds they accept. They would find nothing in the creed of the sister church in Boston inconsistent with their doctrinal opinions as laid before the Home Secretary and the Committee. Evidently a different standard to determine what constitutes the gospel has been applied in the two cases.

We do not understand that the Committee has adopted this rule of differentiation as a settled policy. If we interpret Dr. Alden's letter aright, the Committee are embarrassed and "wait instructions from the Board." But this introduces a new difficulty. Can the Board do anything more or less or better than affirm its constant unvarying tradition as embodied in the Manual? It cannot set about making a creed. It was never constituted for such a purpose. To adopt a creed is the same thing. To undertake to define what the churches hold in common is practically the same thing. It can but say to the Committee: 'Take men and women, other things being right, whom the churches accredit, who accept their creeds by membership in them, who are approved by Associations and Councils, who are sound in the faith as the constituency of the Board shows that it interprets that faith by its organic acts of church fellowship and communion. Beware of setting up private or local standards, and narrowing your constituency to a party. Neither you nor we are an ecclesiastical body, or have anything whatever to do with framing or selecting special standards to be made authoritative. Examine men, so far as necessary, but remember you are not a Synod of Dort or Westminster any more than you are an ecclesiastical council.'

There are other serious difficulties in the path of insistence on a special creed. How far is the policy to be carried? What is to be done with missionaries now in the service of the Board who are more or less in agreement and sympathy with the men who have failed of appointment? If this rigorism be enacted and executed, what is to be the effect on the estimate put upon service under the Board by young men and women whose vigor and devotion are sorely needed? Is it expected that young men will choose in this nineteenth century to accept from the Prudential Committee a lower degree of liberty of thought than is freely granted them by the churches? What is the Prudential Committee, who are its members, that they should undertake to determine in this fashion what opinions on deep and perplexing and controverted themes must be held in order to admission to the privilege of missionary service? We know something of the spirit of young men. They are reverential before a true authority, and their hearts are warm to appeals from men like Mr. Neesima and other earnest missionaries who know how to show them the needs of their fellow men, and the glorious opportunities of Christian ser-

vice Providence has opened. But will they respond to an appeal from men who say, 'We will not permit you to think in China as you may in America?' The inevitable effect of the proposed policy will be to impoverish the service, if indeed it has not already begun to do so, and to *lower the standard of requirement for it.*

We are aware that to all such remonstrances and appeals the short answer will be returned by some: The Board is bound to send out preachers of the gospel; belief in the decisive nature of the present life for every human being is an integral part of the gospel; therefore we must require it. But who has made such a definition of the gospel a rule for the Committee's use? Where is it written with authority that an omnipotent Saviour, Son of God and Son of Man, proving his universal love by offering himself a universal sacrifice, sent into human history and incarnate because God so loved the WORLD, can have in his redeeming and conquering love no access to the millions of our race save through the channels defined for his grace in Dr. Alden's creed? The claim to an exclusive orthodoxy on this subject by certain champions of this new effort at restriction and compulsion is an insult to the Christian intelligence and Christian heart. The utmost that can be affirmed, with any regard to decency in Biblical interpretation or intelligence in Christian history, is, that no man has a right to be dogmatic where revelation ceases to shed its pure and steady ray, and that the various hypotheses and dogmas now current, — such as, the essential Christ, the universal work of the Spirit, the force of natural religion, the personal relation of every man to an atoning and glorified and manifested Saviour, — must be weighed in the balances of the sanctuary, and be favored or modified or rejected according to the relation which by intelligent and candid examination shall be discovered to subsist between them and the assured verities and conquering life of a Christianity whose sum and substance is the personal Christ, his birth and passion, his resurrection and judgment. Whosoever holds to Him, the Head, and would consecrate himself for his sake to the work of preaching to the heathen this Redeemer of mankind, and is otherwise fitted for such a calling, is Christ's missionary to the heathen; and they who hold such an one back are not serving Him, but a graven image, with whatever name of "orthodoxy," or "sound theology," or "fidelity" to a traditional faith, it may be superscribed.

We use plain words, for the great work of the American Board is in danger of being crippled and obstructed. Young men and women of fine Christian character and bright promise of usefulness, anxious to enlist in service, some of them personally solicited by missionaries, are being turned away and discouraged — not "two" only, but a score of them, and all for the sake of a theological issue outside of the legitimate province of any Christian creed, and outside of the faith of the denomination on which the Board almost exclusively depends for its missionaries and funds. There is a plain and simple way out of the difficulty. Will the management of the Board see it, or must it be found through groping

and stumbling, and wearisome contention, and peril of alienation of funds and friends, with loss of laborers sorely needed in fields white for the harvest? It is the path of unity in essentials and liberty in non-essentials — a liberty for the foreign missionary as full as for the home, for the preacher in Bombay as for the pastor in Boston, for the teacher at the Home in Constantinople as for her sister instructor at Wellesley, for the men set apart to teach theology at Marash or Kioto as for their brother professors at New Haven or Andover.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS.

II. INDIA.

(Continued from vol. v., page 656.)

CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN INDIA. — Rev. W. R. Manley, of the Telugu Mission, writes in the "Baptist Missionary Magazine" —

"I believe fully in the future success of this work, and that some day there will be here in this part of India an intelligent, self-sustaining Christian people; but I do not expect to live long enough to see it, and I only believe that it will come at all because I believe God will send us in some way the means to carry on the work. We have n't done excavating for the foundations, and our brethren at home are getting uneasy because the building is n't done yet. . . . The conviction is growing upon me that there is no work of greater importance at the present time than that of educating and training those whom the Lord has already given us. Our work has never yet touched the higher castes, and I do not believe it will until our duty to these poor out-castes is more fully done."

— The terrible poverty of India and its fearful catastrophes are vividly presented by Rev. J. E. Clough, D. D., of the same Mission: —

"Since or about the time they became Christians the terrible famine of 1876-1878 swept away more than twenty-five per cent. of their class of people all over the mission, and left them houseless and penniless. Since that time the crops have not been first class, and in 1879 were almost wholly destroyed by the cyclone."

Dr. Clough states that almost every able-bodied man could be hired to work for eight cents a day, lodging, boarding, and clothing himself. —

"All other missions in India [says Mr. Manley] have some educated Christian converts; but we have none, — no, not one who could by any charity even be called such. We have good brethren, and many of them know the Bible well. Brother Williams does all he can, but he cannot make great pastors and evangelists for Hindus out of men who have only a primary or lower-primary education before they go to the seminary."

— Here is a picture which seems to transport us bodily into India, in its gloom of heathenism, its glory of nature, where, so to speak, "the night shineth as the day" of the North, and its early dawn of redemption: —

"On our way to Narrainpoorom [says Rev. W. W. Campbell], where we were again to pitch our tents, we reached Tungeedapully just at close of day, and the moon began shining brightly. We stopped in the main street of the large village, and commenced to gather the crowd in our usual way, by singing. We were standing under a large tree in front of a temple of Hana-

man, the monkey-god. A lamp had been placed in the temple by some devotee, as is common, as an act of merit. Some poor soul was thus hoping to gain a heavenly reward. The crowd gathered slowly, but we finally had the street well filled with listeners. By turns myself and native helpers declared to them the one true God, and Christ the Saviour of a lost world; showing them that salvation was not by acts of merit and worship of gods like Hanaman, the idol before us, but by faith in Jesus. They listened attentively for a long time; and at the close of our preaching we offered Scripture portions and other small books for sale. They purchased a number, and followed us for some distance, asking questions and buying more books."

— In the Telugu region the Church of England has 3,800 baptized adherents. — The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel throws its great weight on the side of the Bishop of Lahore, against the scheme of dividing the Anglican Church of India. Says its organ, "The Mission Field:—" —

"The passage [of the Bishop's Charge] is especially valuable, in which his lordship earnestly expresses his hope that the verdict may be 'One Church for India.' One Church, not two—a native and an English."

— The Rev. J. H. Walton, of Bangalore, writes in the "Chronicle of the London Missionary Society," of the 67 young men under his immediate instruction:—

"Yesterday morning their faces were all beaming with delight while I was unfolding to them the plan of the kingdom in the first few verses of Matthew xviii. The calm and gentle trustfulness of the little child as the predominating spirit of the true kingdom of Christ seemed to impress them all with a sense of the reality of religion in its highest sense. I think they saw for the first time that it is not a religion that they need; no *ism* of any sort or name; no mere set of doctrines, whatever that set be called; nor any set of rites or forms; but an unreserved and complete surrendering of the man to God with a loving and glad obedience to the divine King."

— The Rev. S. Mateer, of Trevandrum, Travancore, writes in the "Chronicle" that the attendance on the meetings of a Bible Association at Trevandrum has lately included so many Mohammedans as to have made it seem prudent to have a policeman present. The signs of interest in the gospel appearing in various parts of India on the part of the Moslems, hitherto so singularly inaccessible to it, deserve peculiar attention. Moslem pride repels from Christianity; but Moslem hatred of idolatry, in this idolatrous land, may be found a force working the other way. Yet sporadic facts of this kind must not, until they begin to multiply, lead us to augur very favorably of that religion which, as the same number of the "Chronicle" remarks, "is the most vigorous, the most energetic, and the most bigoted opponent Christianity has to meet in the eastern world," and the bulk of whose adherents remember, with inextinguishable bitterness, that they have been cast down by the Christian English from the high places of Indian power.— The Biblical text: "Therefore they sacrifice unto their net, and burn incense unto their drag," is strikingly illustrated by the statement of Rev. W. Lee, in the "Chronicle": "There is one day in the year when every workman worships his tools. The housekeeper worships her cooking vessels; the king worships his weapons of war; and the scholar repeats the alphabet of any language, or goes through the elements of the sciences with which he may be acquainted." Are tormentingly "notable housekeepers" a survival of this form of paganism among ourselves? — When Mr. Rice, of Bangalore, had recently baptized a

young Brahmin, his relatives, bitterly grieved, declared that the missionaries had given him some "medicine" to turn his mind. "No," said he, "God has given me his Spirit to change my heart." — In Travancore, some years back, a Syrian Christian church applied to the London Society's missionaries, saying: "We are as sheep wanting a shepherd; will you not send some one to conduct our services?" Since then it has been under the care of the Mission. — The Rev. F. Wilkinson, late of Madras, writes in the "Chronicle": —

"Around the Hindu temples in South India there is usually a wall of solid masonry, and over the gateways in this wall are erected lofty towers, elaborately carved, rising sometimes to the height of 200 feet. Towers so lofty are conspicuous objects on the plains of South India, and arrest the traveler's attention, even while the rest of the temple is hid from view. There was a time when these towers stood alone in the landscape; no sign of a building devoted to Christian worship was to be seen. It is not so now. Christian churches have been built, which, though less imposing than the Hindu temple, are often sufficiently conspicuous to form a noticeable feature in the Indian landscape. . . . The London Missionary Society has in South India about 440 of these places of Christian worship, varying in size and value, from the small mud-walled village chapel to the large and substantial brick and stone building."

In these 440 houses worship 53,000 Hindus, of whom 20,000 are baptized, though only 5,500 admitted to communion. Of the pastors over these 440 congregations 300 are Hindus, and only 27 Europeans. — The Rev. E. P. Rice, B. A., of Bangalore, makes a remarkable statement in the "Chronicle" respecting the probable influence of the Syrian Church of South India. This church, it is known, claims the Apostle Thomas for its founder. In reality it has existed some thirteen centuries, having been established by emigrants from Syria.

"The existence of these communities [says Mr. Rice] has not been without some effect in preparing the way of the gospel; for it is a significant fact that in the immediate neighborhood of the Christian settlements were born and brought up the greatest reformers of Hinduism, and it is scarcely doubtful that the superior tone of their preaching was derived from Christian influences. The literature, moreover, of the South Indian peoples abounds in noble theistic sentiments, which most probably are to be traced to the same source."

— Mr. Rice, speaking of the *Sudras*, the respectable middle classes, who form two thirds of the Hindu population, says: —

"The character of the people makes Christian work amongst them comparatively easy, but at the same time slow. They are peaceably disposed, easily contented, easily governed, frugal and simple in habits, fond of home, and industrious. The courtesy with which they receive the missionary, the patience with which they listen to his message, and their friendliness when they have made his acquaintance, are very pleasing experiences of our work amongst them. On the other hand, their morality is superficial: the chief standard of moral life is caste respectability; there is no scorn of lies, no shame at impurity, no high sense of honor. Along with extreme scrupulousness as to food, there is supreme indifference as to character."

— After speaking of the courteous readiness of the *Sudra* merchants to offer their shops for the missionaries to preach in, by the hour together, Mr. Rice remarks that very few of these merchants themselves accept Christ, and gives as one reason, that their mercantile instincts of calculation make it almost impossible for them to divest themselves of the notion that their relations with Heaven are to be determined on the system of debt and credit, so many meritorious works offsetting so many sins, thus

sinking almost hopelessly into "the fatal peace of self-righteousness." The industrial classes, he remarks, weavers and Panchâlas, or artisans, have probably yielded proportionately more converts to Christianity than any other class of Sudras. They are less blinded by money-getting than the merchants, and less unaccustomed to free thought than the ryots, or agriculturists. The Panchâlas, moreover, have a long-standing dislike to the Brahmins, which makes them bolder to break away.

"So multitudinous [says Mr. Rice] are the different sections of Hindu society, so distinct are the traditions and sentiments of each, and so little is one caste affected by any movement going on in another that there is much room for sectional work among the different classes. But that is, of course, out of the question, so long as the band of Christian workers is as small as at present."

But why need it be so small? The greater the variety of those that are ready for this various work abroad, the greater the number that will find their way to needy districts at home, to the far West, and to the city slums. — The Rev. E. Le Mare, of Vizagapatam, in describing his Telugu Sunday-school, gives a strong impression of the way in which Christianity is penetrating far beyond its defined circle: —

"Between two hundred and three hundred boys and young men, at the most impressionable age; there they sit, with their eager, intelligent faces, as quiet and attentive as any English Sunday-school, nay, more so than many. The native Christians among them are a mere handful; the majority are Hindus of all castes, a large proportion being Brahmins. The sight is quite picturesque; to see them dressed in their loose clothes, jackets and turbans mostly white, though there is not wanting variety in color and style. Here and there are a few Mussulmans, with their colored and tinsel caps, easily discernible. Altogether, it is decidedly attractive and interesting."

— The Rev. W. Johnson, B. A., of Calcutta, writes in the "Chronicle" for September, 1885: —

"I spent a few days lately in the little kingdom of Travancore, at the extreme southwest corner of India. The boundaries of the land are well defined. They are the mountains on the east and the sea on the west. It is about 170 miles long, ending at Cape Comorin, on the south. Its average breadth is about forty miles. It is one of the independent or protected states. . . . Travancore is a fertile land. The scenery is very beautiful and diversified. Mountains rising to 7,000 feet are covered with magnificent forests. Picturesque valleys filled with luxuriant vegetation intersect the lower slopes of the hills. I saw extensive paddy fields, and my way in some parts was skirted with vast forests of cocoa-nut and palmyra trees. . . . Travancore, I understand, means the land of charity — the land of grace. And certain it is that, though sin abounds, there have been aboundings of grace there. In its relation to the Christian religion, Travancore holds a singular position among the states of India. Native Christians constitute one fifth of the entire population of the country. It is true that the majority of these belong, some to a decayed church, and others to a corrupt church. But still there is a great multitude connected with a living, pure, evangelical church. . . . It is as if out of the sixty millions of Bengal, where my work lies, twelve millions were Christians, instead of eighty-three thousand."

Mr. Johnson speaks of the Syrian Church, with its 300,000 members, as stamped with that sure mark of death, a total lack of any effort to evangelize the surrounding heathen. The vestments of the priests are tawdry; the language of the services unintelligible. Yet missionaries are freely admitted into its pulpits, and many of their priests are trained in the missionary college of the London society. They "hold the

Head;" are glad to receive the Word in their modern tongue; and acknowledge the missionaries as one in doctrine with themselves. Therefore "we may hope that the returning tide of life has set in, and that it will flow on steadily, if slowly, to a fullness of spiritual blessing," and that a church which was at least four hundred years old when our Saxon Alfred sent gifts and loving messages to it is to receive a greater gift through this new intimacy with Alfred's countrymen. — Mr. Rice, of Bangalore, speaking of some of their native helpers, says:—

"The Rev. P. Peerajee . . . is now in charge of work among the non-Christian population in the town and talug of Hosūr. His command of all the six languages spoken in the Bangalore district enables him to reach with readiness every class of the population. It is not yet two years since he commenced to reside at Hosūr, but he already notices a change in the attitude of the people. 'Almost every evening,' he writes, 'inquirers call at my house to get further instruction, and to get their doubts cleared up. When I first came to Hosūr the people said: *Let us alone. Don't disturb our minds. You follow your religion, and let us follow ours.* Now they are quite changed. A spirit of inquiry has begun. Many have expressed their desire to examine the Bible. One, who had received a copy of the Canarese Bible from me, sends for his friends in the evening, when his business is over, reads to them, and they make notes of questions, which they bring once a week to me to answer. When I asked this man what he thought of the Bible, he replied: *Satya [Truth].*'"

The Rev. G. P. Arōgyam, another ordained evangelist, has in the last year visited 125 villages, preached 752 times to about 19,000 hearers, distributed 11,500 handbills, with other literature. Another helper, Mr. Lingappa, enjoys the mingled dignity and odium of being himself a Brahman. Such a one, to his fellows, is a very "Lucifer, son of the morning," fallen from the heaven of dignity to the depths.—The Rev. T. E. Slater, of the same Mission, has been lecturing at Bangalore on the burning question of the reform of the Hindu marriage customs.

"As a Christian minister he was bound to denounce the marriage of little children to each other, of infant girls to middle-aged and old men, and the enforced permanence of the single state on widowed women. The Hindus knew that they would hear from Mr. Slater an unrestricted condemnation of these long-standing evil customs, and yet they flocked to hear him. The hall was packed, scarcely any standing-room being left available anywhere. The audience listened throughout without making a single sign of disapprobation; indeed, they applauded the speaker at several points, and cordially passed a unanimous vote of thanks."

The next day a Bangalore branch of the Widow Marriage Association was formed, upwards of a hundred native gentlemen enrolling themselves as members. — A Hindu ascetic of the Telugu region has put his position in very plain terms. He assured the Rev. G. H. Macfarlane that "he knew that the worship of these gods was of no avail, but that he must obtain food for himself and his disciples. However, God was one, and he believed in Him." Of such fakirs, to give to whom is supposed in so peculiar a manner to contribute to the giver's salvation, there are estimated to be more than 3,000,000,—one in eighty of the whole population. — The Rev. W. Lee, of Nagercoil, in Travancore, observes that the Christian hymns, composed by native poets, and set to temple tunes (some of which are said to be noble ones), are heard floating out as well from heathen as from Christian homes, and are likely to have a large part in spreading the knowledge of Christ throughout India. — The Rev.

Robert Clark, M.A., of the Church Missionary Society, among other reasons which he assigns for limited success in India, says:—

"Many young Christians do not get good food *regularly*, and it may be perhaps owing to this that in our missionary efforts we do not meet always with the success which we desire. In the early Church, it is said that the Apostles both taught the disciples and evangelized the heathen. In some of our modern churches instruction is given daily, or even twice a day. It should be so in *all*. If we would have vigorous life amongst our converts, we must make more use of our churches, or else must have rooms in convenient localities for meetings. The family prayer in houses is not sufficient for new converts from heathenism or Mohammedanism. It does not *feed* them."

— It is very difficult for us, who have been born in a Christian land, to understand what heathenism is. Bishop Patteson writes:—

"No words can express what the recoil of the wave 'heathenism' is. It is as when 'the enemy comes in like a flood.' It is like one who was once a drunkard, and has left off drinking, and then, once more tasting the old deadly poison, becomes mad for drink; or like the wild prison struggles of penitents in penitentiaries, when it seems as if the devil must whirl them back into sin.' . . . The heathen do not see this till they become Christians. When the full bucket is under the water men do not feel its weight. When men come out of sin, they then feel its enormity. The one remedy given to us is the indwelling of Christ in men's hearts, by his Spirit and *through his Word*."

—"A Very Old Indian," writing in the "Church Missionary Intelligencer," says:—

"I can never cease to regret that a glorious opportunity has been lost by our Government in India of encouraging voluntary Bible instruction, both in the vernacular and English, in all their schools. As Mr. Venn, in his far-seeing wisdom, once remarked, the first three chapters of Genesis would alone have availed to disabuse the native mind of their most fatal errors in science, religion, and morality."

—The same gentleman remarks, as "the crowning beauty of Tamil Christianity" in the south, "that it is as yet so comparatively free from the very great mistake of confounding Christianity with what is only Englishanism." This terse remark should be profoundly laid to heart, alike by Englishmen, Americans, and Germans. As Latin Christianity is bitterly intolerant towards Teutonic Christianity, so Teutonic Christianity is exposed in its turn to the malignant disease of identifying its own particular garb with the One Faith, instead of rejoicing if the churches sprung from it prove the vigor of the gospel among them by the flexible ease with which it clothes itself in a true national development. The "London Times" once truly remarked that Christianity in India will show itself to have in very truth laid hold of the native genius when its very heresies are indigenous. The Brahmo Somaj may be fairly regarded as such an indigenous parhelion of Christianity. — The "Intelligencer" for last October gives an account of Bishop Sargent's Jubilee, being the completion of his fiftieth year of service in Southern India, in connection with the Church Missionary Society's Mission in Tinnevely.

"The large mission church was filled to overflowing, there being about 1,400 in the congregation, including about sixty native clergymen. . . . As the Bishop and clergy entered the church, the girls of the boarding-school sang very sweetly the anthem, 'How beautiful upon the mountains!' and, just before the sermon, Miss Havergal's inspiring hymn, 'Tell it out.' The Rev. V. Vedhanayagam . . . preached an appropriate sermon from James i. 17. After enumerating some of the more important gifts bestowed on his Church by the 'Father of lights,' the preacher made special allusion to the great benefit

God had bestowed on the Tinnevely church in the person of his servant the Bishop. The sermon ended, there was an administration of the Holy Communion, — the number of communicants being 324."

Bishop Sargent, in the fifty years of his life in South India, has seen the number of native clergymen under his charge rise from one to sixty-six; has procured the building of many substantial churches; has seen the annual contributions of his churches rise from merely what was required for lights to 33,000 rupees; has provided the Native Church with a large amount of religious literature; has rendered efficient aid in revising the Tamil Bible; and has been for half a century a chief counselor in the general missionary work of South India. — In many mission-fields it is hard to bring about an effective organization of new congregations. But in India, the "Intelligencer" remarks, the village council, of immemorial antiquity, supplies a model on which church councils are easily built up, furnishing to the Anglican clergy, and doubtless to others, a body of efficient assessors, in both temporal and spiritual guidance of the church. There is here an interesting analogy to the developments of polity in the Church of the first ages. — Sir Samuel Baker, in one of his books on Ceylon, insists that the adult heathen should be given up, and attention turned exclusively to the children. The following remarks of the secretary of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. C. C. Fenn, M. A., bear on this point: —

"That the gospel should be preached to the young as well as to the old none will deny. But experience by no means confirms the notion that success is more likely to be met with among the children. As a matter of fact — though in most missions, in particular throughout India, schools rightly form a very conspicuous and powerful part of the missionary agency at work — conversions from among adults form the more numerous class. . . . Every year's report furnishes its quota of aged converts, many of these being cases of the deepest interest. Viewing the matter from the standpoint of the laws of human nature, it may be remembered that, if children are more easily impressed for the moment, these impressions are usually volatile, especially when they daily return to heathen homes. Boarding-schools may be properly expected to exercise a more lasting influence; but their great expensiveness would of course make it impossible for them to reach more than a very limited number of heathen children."

MISCELLANEOUS. — "Our dominion," says Lord Teignmouth, "is built on the subversion of the Mohammedan power; and all the toleration which can be granted to the followers of Mohammed, all the benefits of a mild and equitable government, will never make them forget that they once possessed the Empire of Hindustan, and have now lost it." — The Calcutta "Church Missionary Gleaner," speaking of a "mission," or "protracted meeting," lately held among the Santāls, a hill tribe of North India, says of the addresses given in it: "They embraced practical warning and exhortation for the life, and markedly pointed to Jesus Christ as the source of life for every individual Christian. It seems, indeed, that the more practical apprehension of this teaching is the great need of the Santāl Christians. At present their realization is rather that of having entered into a true way, than of a *personal relationship with the Father through the Son*." That is, we may say that they are as yet rather in the Catholic than in the Evangelical stage of Christianity, — using the terms, of course, independently of ecclesiastical connection. The Church Missionary Society rejoices in the successful development of native gifts for the furtherance of the gospel. Including, not India

alone, but all its force, there are 228 ordained Europeans, 246 ordained natives, and more than 4,000 native helpers. — The hitherto unwritten Beluch, or Balochi, language, has been introduced as it should be among the written languages of earth by a translation of the Gospel of Matthew, made by the Rev. A. Lewis, Church missionary at Dera Gazi Khan. — The Rev. E. Droese, of Bhagalpur, has published an "Introduction to the Malto Language, and a Malto Vocabulary." Malto is the language of the people on the tops of the hills in the Santál country, whom the whites call Paharis (hill people), but who call themselves Maler (men). It is usually called a Dravidian language; but, with a strong Dravidian element, is said to differ very essentially from the family. This book, the Gospels, and a few hymns, are all that as yet ministers to the spiritual life of the small band of Maler Christians. It is to be hoped that a missionary for them will next be found. — "By a curious kind of irony," says the "Intelligencer," "the bulk of English-speaking natives, in Bengal especially, are, thanks to our system of secular education, the most hostile of all Hindus to English rule, and probably the most confirmed in their unwillingness to receive Christianity as their creed." Whether the same brilliant results will follow the system in our country may be left for the future to disclose. In India, however, public aid is no longer confined to these merely secular schools, but is extended to all which come up to a certain intellectual standard. — Of South India, that favored part of the mighty peninsula, the "Intelligencer," speaking of the outspreading results of the great evangelical revival in the time of Wilberforce and Simeon, remarks: "The history of the Missions in Southern India is a living commentary on the zeal which, emanating from Christian laymen, officers, civilians, merchants, animated and encouraged missionaries in their labors, and put heart into their work. Many, not a few, Christian laymen were 'living epistles known and read of all men.' They were curiously scanned by intelligent and censorious native eyes, but the result was favorable." These were the results of the Evangelical wave. How about the results of the Ritualistic wave which has followed it, and which, recoiling from the unrepentive South, appears to be at floodtide in the diocese of Bombay? Spiritual deadness in this diocese appears to be conceded: whether *post hoc* is in this case *propter hoc* must be left undecided. — The flux and reflux of spiritual life between England and her dependent empire is beautifully illustrated in the following case, communicated in the "Intelligencer" for May, 1885: "Charles Alfred Browne, a subaltern in the 15th Madras Native Infantry, having been called in as umpire" — a number of years ago — "to compose some difference between the missionary and the commandant, had been so struck with truths then forced on his attention that . . . he laid hold on the power of the gospel, and became one of the most consistent, useful, and wise Christians that have ever befriended India, equally in his official capacity, in high military appointments, and as an unpaid servant of the Church Missionary Society, till . . . on his way home from a monthly meeting of the secretaries of evangelical societies, he was suddenly called up higher, and expired on the steps of the Postoffice in St. Martin's-le-Grand, in 1866." — The relation of missionary efforts to the feelings of the Hindus is set forth by the Earl of Harrowby in a curious, but striking comparison: "Supposing the French had conquered England in the time of Napoleon, thereby exciting a bitter feeling among the English

people; and supposing France had then sent missionaries to this country to alter the whole of the English religion, . . . settled in very small numbers among a population which had a natural feeling of hatred against them as conquerors. . . . Now that is very much like the position which we have occupied, and still occupy, in India . . . yet we have sometimes appeared very much surprised that the walls of Jericho did not fall down at once before us." — In reference to the missionary work in India, the Rev. Robert Clark quotes Wesley's pregnant words, which cut in a great many directions: "What can destroy the work of God in these parts but contending about opinions?"

— The Germans are sometimes regarded by us as if their share in the work of missions were specifically inferior to that of the Anglo-Saxons. This opinion is certainly not justified by the history of Protestant Christianity in South India. The foundations of this were, as we know, laid by Germans and Danes, and after the work had been largely transferred into Episcopalian hands, the Church Missionary Society long found its most practicable supply of missionaries in Germany, many of whom never received Anglican orders. The reminiscences given in the "Intelligencer" show how long this large infusion of the German element lasted. We may then not unaptly describe the Protestant Christianity of India in the regions verging towards Cape Comorin as an Anglo-Saxon superstructure on a German foundation. — Of the four great Dravidian languages, the Tamil, of which Madras is the metropolis, stands chief. Though in its literary style largely imbued with Aryan elements, it is fundamentally a non-Aryan tongue. A "Very Old Indian," however, says of it, that it "is capable of great logical exactness and poetic beauty. . . . The classical Tamil grammar, *Nannūl*, is a marvelous specimen of terseness, precision, and lucidity. Like all native Indian writings, it is metrical, and accompanied with a prose comment." Of the literature he says: "European gentlemen could hardly get much acquaintance with it without defilement. . . . At the same time much good social morality and correct views of human nature are to be found in the old writings. The poetical faculty of the people has since been turned to good account in the composition of Christian hymns adapted to Tamil tunes and modes of expression." — Mrs. Baker, widow of Rev. Henry Baker, Sr., remembers that when she "first came, a happy bride, to Travancore in 1818, the Mission was just begun, there were no churches and no converts. Now there are under Bishop Speechly 20,000 Christians worshipping in thirty-nine stone churches, exclusive of prayer-houses and school-rooms numbering 104." This lady may well feel that her husband and her son have not given their lives in vain. — A very important article in the "Intelligencer" for October, 1885, is entitled, "The Female Evangelist," and is introduced by the significant motto: "Male and female created He them." Of the peculiar necessity of such evangelists in India, much greater apparently than even in Turkey, the following extracts give an opportunity of judging: "Though women in India do not appear in public, it is not to be supposed that within the walls of their home their influence is not very great, for good or for evil. From time immemorial, in Northern India, women have been secluded either absolutely within brick walls, or debarred by understood etiquette from holding conversation with the other sex. I remember an old native gentleman, who had traveled much in India, remarking, that it would be better to lose one's way on a journey

than to ask it of a woman, as it might involve the traveler in trouble. Nor do I think that it is either likely or desirable that, for some generations, the rule should be broken : it might lead to greater evils. Women are exceedingly troublesome in courts of justice, when they break through the barrier of custom, and appear either as plaintiffs or witnesses. Until a great change comes over the structure of Indian society in Northern India, it is as well that on railways and in churches, as they are in schools and hospitals, the sexes should be separated, and a decent reserve maintained in alluding to their existence.

"Noble efforts have been made during the last quarter of a century, by special societies, to approach the women in cities and towns, where they are absolutely secluded. The female medical missionary has appeared, to the delight and admiration of all. Female teachers, and that blessed combination of syllables, 'the Bible woman,' and the Scripture reader, the house-to-house visitor, the composer of tracts and stories especially for the use of women, and other indirect channels of female influence, have come into existence. Woman's committees, and woman's societies for mission purposes, have acceptance on both sides of the Atlantic. I see my way to expressing my fixed and deliberate desire, in support of Sir W. Muir's suggestion, that a recognized component part of a fully equipped Mission should be a 'female evangelist.'" — "A new feature, that native women have caught the divine afflatus, and are penetrated by the strange and mysterious desire to evangelize their neighbors. This consideration opens out an infinity of hopes for the future." — A Miss Tucker, writing of such a work, says : "I feel that the village mission, to which Miss Clay devoted her energies, is indeed a great and glorious work. Were I ten years younger, and had the Lord not given me my post at Batála, I should feel half inclined to throw in my lot with my brave, energetic, self-denying sisters. But it is all *one work* for the Blessed Master, whether sitting in Mahometan zenanas or riding through the fields green with springing corn or yellow with mustard, to tell of his love to village women dwelling in mud-built houses." — Mr. Cust, the author of this article, and the author of the book on African languages, after various such testimonies respecting different ladies and their work, adds for himself : —

"As I read her letter, the same feeling comes over me as came over my contemporary, Miss Tucker ; a desire to be young again and back among my own people, the inhabitants of the Panjáb, among whom I lived so many years alone and happy, in spite of war and tumult. It was part of the John Lawrence system that the district officer should dwell in tents amidst his people, without guards, ruling by moral influence and the feeling of gratitude for benefits received. I can conceive no happier life when in the employment of an earthly ruler : how much more so when in the service of our King ! Memory goes back gladly over the interval of thirty or forty years to the white tent pitched in the outskirts of the village in the mango-grove, where I have passed laborious hours, devoted in sincerity and single-mindedness to the benefit of the people, who crowded round their alien, and yet beloved, ruler. I recall the evening walk, with a long train of followers, through the streets and the gardens, down by the streams or over the heather. I see again the slanting rays of the sun shedding glory through the grove, the white figures glancing through the shade, the rows of elephants, horses, and camels. Oh, that I could be young again, and go forth to be an evangelist, where once I was ruler and judge and earthly providence to contented millions ! I can at least encourage others to go forth."

Charles C. Starbuck.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

FROM SCHOLA TO CATHEDRAL. A Study of Early Christian Architecture and its Relation to the Life of the Church. By G. BALDWIN BROWN, M. A., late fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, and Watson Gordon Professor of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo, pp. ix. 231. Edinburgh: David Douglas. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1886.

No topic is more inadequately treated in hand-books of architecture, general histories of the church, and cyclopædias, with the exception of Kraus's, than the early Christian places of worship. Western church architecture is commonly traced to the Roman basilicas, of whose origin and appropriation to Christian uses no satisfactory account is given; and Eastern is restricted to Byzantine art, culminating in St. Sophia, with its marvels of constructive skill, which are left almost as inexplicable as though its domes had suddenly dropped from the skies. The English and American cyclopædias, including such useful ones as McClintock & Strong's and Dr. Schaff's, and such recent ones as Smith & Cheetham's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," and the new edition of "The Encyclopædia Britannica," are quite oblivious of Continental investigations which have given a new character to the treatment of this subject, exploding theories which are still repeated in these works as though they were undisputed axioms, and tracing natural and fascinating lines of development, where before were abruptness and lack of adjustment to known historical conditions. Professor Brown's book breaks this English silence, and enables English readers for the first time to understand what is known or plausibly conjectured respecting the places in which the early Christians held their assemblies, and the connection between these and the wonderful development of church architecture after the peace of Constantine. In one particular, if we are not mistaken, Professor Brown might, with advantage to his readers, expand his account, namely, the progress of dome construction to its perfect development in the church of St. Sophia. The topic is skilfully treated; but the final triumph which is described still seems lacking in historical preparation. De Vogüé's Introduction to his plates, and to some extent the plates, suggest processes of training, advances in construction, which at least stimulate further inquiries. Where is to be found the first use of the spherical pendentive? What were the steps which led up to its use? Possibly the existing monuments admit of no more definite statements than are given in the instructive chapter on "The Domed Church and Byzantine Art." Yet are not the ruins of Central Syria dismissed too lightly? The necessities of stone-construction which prevailed there, the free use of piers and vaulting, the adjustment of domes to square or polygonal bases, formed and reveal a school in which the problems must have arisen which were solved by Justinian's architects.

In one main line of inquiry Professor Brown is a pioneer. He has brought into prominence the connection between the pagan *schola*, or club-house, and the Christian church as no other investigator has done, except Dr. Lange, of Halle, whose work appeared after Professor Brown's had been given to the publisher. The independent concurrence in opinion on this point of two authorities so competent will commend

their hypothesis to future investigators. It certainly has much plausibility, and will quicken and guide inquiry.

Professor Brown distributes his material into five chapters. The first treats of the "Christian Communities as Religious Associations under the Roman Empire." The bearing of the pagan laws and usages concerning *collegia* or clubs upon the civil rights of the churches is clearly shown. This prepares for the best account we have seen of "The Earliest Christian Assemblies and Places of Meeting." A careful review is given of the Jewish synagogue (which is also more fully discussed in connection with the basilicas), the festal hall of private dwelling-houses, the lodge-room of the clubs, the *cella* or memorial chapel of the cemeteries; and the connections are traced between these rooms and the later Christian church. Chapter III. discusses the basilicas, and shows the union in them of the architectural elements previously developed. Byzantine art is treated in the next chapter; and, in conclusion, the fifth gives a masterly exhibition of the growth of the Romanesque minster, and the transition, under the Teutonic genius, to the Gothic cathedral. An Appendix refutes conclusively the common theory of the conversion of pagan basilicas to Christian uses, either by acquisition or close imitation, and questions the conclusiveness of M. Dieulafoy's contention that the palaces of Firuz-Abad and Sarbistan are of earlier date than the period of the Sassanid monarchs. The importance is conceded of these ancient ruins in their bearing upon the history of the pendentive. Professor Brown authorizes the expectation that, if the "method" of his present volume should be approved by the public, he will proceed to the history of Monastic Architecture and Art. A work on this subject is a desideratum, and the author's conception of what is needed in such treatises, his command of materials, soundness of judgment, and literary skill, as shown in this first work, lead us to express a strong desire that he will carry out his plan. We know of no other writer on church architecture who exhibits so clear a perception of the lines of development.

It is this growth of architecture, its connection with existing modes of thought and life and practical necessities, its relation to the Christian spirit of an age, which constitutes its most attractive feature.

As we have intimated, the Christian architecture of the fourth century was neither a mere appropriation of pagan forms nor a new creation. The pagan temples were not adapted to the purposes of a Christian church. There is no evidence that any Roman forensic basilica was converted into a place of Christian worship. Walls were needed, that there might be retirement for prayer; a spacious auditorium, that there might be the requisite condition for popular instruction; a commanding position for the altar, on which were laid the symbols of the great sacrifice; and other arrangements suited to the purposes of the Christian service, as distinct from those of idolatry, or justice, or trade. The churches of the fourth century exhibit adaptations and designs which imply arrangements and forms of public worship which must have become familiar before the forensic basilicas could have been either appropriated or imitated. There were earlier churches, of whose existence we have indisputable proof. The origin of church architecture must be traced to these earlier places of meeting. The later inquiries have turned in this direction. They have explored the catacombs, and found there, both below and above ground, indications of rooms where Christians gathered for religious observances. They have investigated the architecture of

Greeks and Romans, Persians, Egyptians, and Jews, and have discovered upper rooms and halls, and private basilicas which were adapted for gatherings of Christian disciples. Last of all, the club-houses have been brought to view; and, though direct historical proof is not found of an actual use of these *scholae* for purposes of Christian worship, many ascertained facts make plausible the supposition that they too aided in the preparation for the development of Christian architecture in the basilicas of Ravenna and Rome and the many splendid churches which arose in other cities of the later empire. This recurrence to domestic architecture has been stimulated and facilitated by the investigations started by the discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii. Archaeologists are now able to reconstruct the Roman private house, the villas and palaces of the nobles, the lodges of the associations, the memorial chapels of the cemeteries.

The first churches were rooms in private houses. We need only recall, in proof, the upper room to which the disciples repaired after the Ascension, or the house of Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus, and also at Rome, or that of Nymphas at Laodicea, or of Philemon and Apphia in a small Phrygian town, or the house of Mary the mother of Mark, or of Asyncretus, or of Philologus and Julia, or Martin's at the Timotine bath. In private halls opening into gardens, in what were called the Egyptian *oeci*, archaeology shows rooms well adapted for the meetings of the brotherhoods. Within them grew up forms and observances which determined later arrangements. Here, we think, must be found the main root of the later architecture, though the *schola* of the associations may have been an intermediate form in passing to the distinct and separate church edifice. For such a building, on a scale commensurate with the needs of the church as it emerged in triumph from the period of persecution, the Greek colonnades and the Roman skill in the construction of arches and vaults and domes all prepared. Two types appear: the basilican and the Byzantine; the latter preceded by numerous circular or polygonal chapels and baptisteries. The basilican form prevailed in the East as well as the West from the time of Constantine, and even earlier, to that of Justinian. In the West it remained the common type until after Charlemagne, and in Rome until into the eleventh century, and it has left its mark on church architecture to the present day. Before its adoption by Christian worshippers it had been appropriated in the larger synagogues by Jewish; and in some of its essential features it is traced not only to the forensic basilicas of Rome and the hall of the *Archon Basileus* at Athens, but to the columned temples of Egypt with their clere-story lights. A distinct resemblance also appears, probably not by imitation, but by coincidence of design, between the Christian basilicas and the private basilicas of Roman noblemen and emperors. In both we have the terminal apse. Thus the typical church of the fourth century combined the features of all preceding places of worship, and reproduced the most serviceable and the noblest elements of pagan architecture, — Grecian colonnades, the Egyptian clere-story, the breadth and grandeur of the forensic basilicas, the Roman arch, made triumphal with the apse expanded and commanding the whole auditorium.

The other leading type, the round churches, ripening into the Byzantine, also connect, not only with Eastern art, but with one of the most remarkable achievements of Roman architecture, — the dome of the Pantheon. The circular form, however, proved unsuited to the ancient

Christian service. This required distinction of parts, the nave, the presbytery, the choir, the apse. The centre is the place of honor in a circular building, but this position was not adapted to the main purposes for which Christians ordinarily gathered in their churches; it suited neither the pulpit nor the altar. The Byzantine architects endeavored to conform domed buildings to the uses of a Christian church. The problem was to adjust a dome to a rectangle, which might also be oblong, and even cruciform, with an apse and transepts or wings. The Pantheon springs its dome directly from a round wall. It is the same in principle when a drum intervenes, as in the modern St. Peter's. The base of the dome is still a circle. Probably polygonal forms mediated. Several methods were naturally suggested and tried. The polygon was inscribed within the circular base of the dome, making what is called a hanging dome, or one whose base projects externally beyond the sides of the polygon. Or the circle of the dome was inscribed within the polygon, resting on the middle of the sides, and leaving each angle to recede. Or the dome was constructed in polygonal sections, doubling, perhaps, the number of the sides of the wall. Byzantine architecture culminated, constructively, when it reduced the sides of the base to the smallest number, giving a quadrilateral enclosure, and increased the faces of the dome to the largest possible number, viz., a circle or hemisphere. This triumph was reached in that most symmetrically, perfectly and restfully beautiful of all churches, St. Sophia.

Western art adhered to the basilican form and to the oldest type, an oblong interior with a terminal apse. Professor Brown justly finds its principle in the Roman love of order. From this arose the more compact and thoroughly organized churches which are called Romanesque, — that is, the more loosely constructed basilicas made solid and massive, reduced to a most impressive unity, transformed into the very symbol of order and proportion, — the Western mediæval minster. The square, where nave and transepts intercept, is the unit of measure. The cruciform plan binds the symbol of the freest possible sacrifice with that of the utmost firmness, stability, order. Piers and towers add to the one effect. The conquest of the Teutonic tribes prepared the way for a new era, as did the Roman victory over Greece and the Orient. Here, too, the architectural development, as before, took up elements that had previously been developed, and made them subservient to the uses of a new and higher spirit. The converted barbarians learnt the Roman art of building, but they infused into it a new life. The main lines are no longer horizontal as in Egyptian or Grecian art; nor is the complete and limiting dome the crown of effort, nor yet the massive and lofty tower. The change to vertical lines begins to appear in the later Roman churches, but its triumph appears after the Crusades, and as the Teutonic spirit of freedom and the northern love of nature and sense of mystery and of the infinite come into history. Professor Brown rightly rejects the unsatisfactory attempt of some recent writers to explain the rise of pointed architecture by mechanical considerations, and adduces as essential to a right solution of the problem "the romantic side of the Teutonic genius, with its power of self-abandonment, its infinite longings." At the same time he points out with equal sagacity that Gothic architecture is not merely expression. While far more complex and ideal than either the Romanesque or the Byzantine, it is no less thoroughly organized, compact, solid, scientific.

We lay down this admirable volume with sincere gratitude to the writer, and with a fresh sense of the greatness of the power which is working in and through the Christian church, and of the law of progress which binds together the ages. Solace, tranquillity, repose,—order, unity, law,—freedom, aspiration, infinite variety and infinite longings,—such are the lessons wrought into the very stones that form the outward temples of our Christian faith, and in the most complex and noble structures art has reared for Christian worship is still preserved the simple plan and order of the earliest and humblest places of meeting of the primitive church.

Egbert C. Smyth.

GERMAN PSYCHOLOGY OF TO-DAY : The Empirical School. By TH. RIBOT. Translated by JAMES MARK BALDWIN, with a Preface by JAMES MCCOSH, D. D., LL. D. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.00.

AT no period in the history of thought has there been such a sudden and powerful reaction against the immediate past as during the last fifteen years in Germany. A few years ago nearly all the professors of philosophy in the leading universities were Hegelians; while to-day not more than two or three men of prominence are willing to be counted as holding the philosophy which dominated German thought for nearly half a century. However much absolute idealism may flourish in other lands, it has had its day in Germany. The time was, when thoughtful Germans were compelled to focus their thought upon the ideal, because they had little to live for in the real; but that time has passed. The present age is a practical age, and this means that facts, and not speculation, exercise the controlling influence. The reaction against abstract philosophy in Germany arose partly from the failure of that philosophy to fulfill its promise to explain the universe as it is, and partly from the desire to apply to the problems of mind the scientific method, which in other departments of investigation had produced such instructive and valuable results.

The new psychology in its method and spirit is eminently practical and scientific. By observation, calculation, and experiment it aims to collect and systematize the facts of psychic phenomena, and thus to deduce the laws of mental life by the rigorous methods of the natural sciences. It believes thoroughly in its mission and in the necessity of its mission. Philosophy has come to a point where it must halt, and wait for marching orders from the new psychology. In other words, the philosophical mill must be shut down, because it has long ago ground up all the grain that was brought to it. The new psychology is raising a new crop, and philosophy cannot go on grinding until that crop has been harvested.

The object of M. Ribot's book is, in the first place, to set forth the importance of the new science, and then to give a history of its beginnings and development in Germany. English and French psychology is touched upon now and then, but only incidentally. Our author points out at the start the fatal defect of the old psychology. It pursued a wrong method. Starting with the false conception that psychology is the science of an entity called "the soul," it proceeded by means of abstract processes, cutting loose from biological science and, as far as possible, ignoring it altogether. It was analytical, critical, metaphysical and sometimes poetical, but never vital. It reasoned as to what ought to be, and then transformed its own "*ought*" into a logical actuality to which things were not found to correspond.

Are we then to understand that the new psychology in avoiding abstractions gives up all that is spiritual? By no means; but it insists that the spiritual as we know it is inseparable from the physical. To be sure, to some minds, the expression "psychology without a soul" will come as an irreverent and insolent expression of a materialistic science. It is only just, however, to say that the new psychology in being empirical is not necessarily materialistic. In leaving out the concept "soul," it is simply refusing to keep up the old habit of putting a metaphysical entity in the place of real life.

The present field of physiological-psychology, according to M. Ribot, includes "reflex action and the instincts; detailed study of sensation, movement, modes of expression and language; the conditions of the will and attention; and the forms of the more complex feelings." These are fundamental questions, most of which should come at the very beginning of psychology; and the answers to them form points of departure for the consideration of still greater problems of life and mind.

In the attempts to solve the rudimentary problems of scientific psychology many failures were to be expected. It was not easy for investigators to get rid of the old metaphysical methods. Hence we find in Müller and Herbart, the forerunners of the present movement, the disturbing influence of philosophy. Herbart, especially, lays himself open to the charge of beginning with a speculative hypothesis not grounded in fact, — which is precisely what the new psychology wishes to avoid. He also trusted too much to mathematical calculation and too little to experiment. Nevertheless, he performed a signal service to psychology in vindicating against Kant its claim to be called an exact science, and so stimulated others to take up the subject with hope of verifiable results. To Herbart also belongs the honor of having founded a school, which has done much in developing anthropology from the psychological standpoint.

Our author finds in Lotze positive contributions to empirical psychology; although he thinks that the philosophical bent of Lotze's mind has led him to an excessive use of speculative theories. At times, however, he manifests to an admirable degree the scientific spirit, and his explanation of the development of the idea of space by means of local signs shows the results of acute and painstaking investigation.

The psycho-physical theories of Fechner are expounded by M. Ribot at considerable length, and are exceedingly interesting and instructive. Fechner's special subject is the relation of excitation to sensation. He even goes so far as to measure sensation, and deduces a law of the relation of excitation to sensation. His most serious defect is his tendency to neglect biological conditions and to deal with sense-organs as if they had all the regularity of machines; whereas their activity varies greatly with the amount of vitality of the individual or of the organ itself. Fechner's law has many critics; but whether it be finally established or not, he has, at least, set on foot investigations which cannot fail to be fruitful in rich discoveries as to the relation of the physical and mental.

By far the ablest German investigator in psychology at the present time is Professor Wundt. A third or more of the book which we are considering is devoted to him. "He alone has treated the new psychology in all its area." Physiology is his basis, and his method is in large degree scientific. He complains that psychology made no progress for centuries, because it was simply descriptive of what lay in every man's conscious-

ness. He proposes to substitute *explanation* for description, and, for this purpose, makes use of experiment and measurement. Rejecting the traditional opinion that all intellectual life is conscious, he shows very convincingly that the process of unifying the data of perception goes on in the field of the unconscious, — that is, in that of physiology. He treats of sensation, perception, the general notions, apperception, feeling (including æsthetic, moral, and religious), also of consciousness and the will.

The chapter on the "Duration of Psychic Acts" is a good illustration of the possibility of arriving by experiment in the realm of mind at new and practical results.

Altogether, M. Ribot's book is able, fair, and faithful. It is more than a commentary. It is in itself a contribution to the new psychology. The translation into English by Mr. Baldwin is timely, and the preface to the American edition by President McCosh will aid in introducing the book to psychologists of the old school.

Edward C. Porter.

GREENWICH, CT.

THE SPARTAN AND THEBAN SUPREMACIES [Epochs of Ancient History]. By CHARLES SANKEY, M. A., Assistant Master in Marlborough College. With five maps. Pp. xx., 230. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886.

THE book before us continues the series of small, cheap, yet carefully edited, historical books for young readers which was begun by Longmans, London, about a dozen years ago. The English original, of which it is a superior reproduction, was issued in 1877.

The editors believe that "a complete picture of a short period is of more value in an educational point of view than an outline of a nation;" and they seek to carry out this idea by admitting into their narrative chiefly "those incidents and features on which the minds of young persons most readily fasten," and by introducing only those persons of whom "enough could be said to exhibit them as living men." The plan thus admirably conceived has been commendably worked out. Of course, the advanced student will miss in this volume that presentation and discussion of ruling ideas and principles for which a previous acquaintance with the mere story of the Greek people will have prepared him: but one will find the main facts given, and the leading characters delineated, with sufficient fullness to exhibit clearly and accurately the logic of events; and the whole narrative composed in a style which — barring occasional defects and infelicities — is remarkably fresh and interesting. Yet the conservatism in which an obsolescent spelling of certain English words is retained is in striking contrast with the radicalism of such transliterations as *Alexandros*, *Byzantion*, etc.

The use of the specifications of the Table of Contents as inserted titles of the paragraphs to which they apply gives one a useful marginal analysis as he reads; there is also an index. The maps are clearly printed and fairly good. The typography is excellent.

Edward G. Coy.

GESCHICHTE DES JÜDISCHEN VOLKES IM ZEITALTER JESU CHRISTI. Von EMIL SCHÜRER. Zweite neu bearbeitete Auflage des Lehrbuchs der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte. Zweiter Theil. Die inneren Zustände Palästina's und des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1886.

A HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE TIME OF JESUS CHRIST. By

EMIL SCHÜRER. Second Division. The internal Condition of Palestine, and of the Jewish People, in the Time of Jesus Christ. Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR and Rev. PETER CHRISTIE. Vols. I. and II. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. New York : Scribner & Welford. 1885.

SCHÜRER'S "Manual of the History of New Testament Times" was published in 1874, and was at once accorded the first place among the few works treating of this subject. After twelve years more of labor in the same field, the author has given us one volume of a new edition, so much enlarged and improved that it is practically a new work. The new title is also an improvement, since it expresses the scope of the work more exactly. The original work was in one volume of 668 pages, while the second volume of this new edition contains 884. The first volume of the new edition, which is announced to appear within a few months, will treat of the political history of the Jews from 175 B. C. to 70 A. D. The second volume, which forms the subject of this notice, deals with the inner life of the Jewish people during the same period. The leading topics of this volume are the General Culture of the times, the Language of Palestine, the Influence of Hellenism, the Political Organization both of the Jewish districts and the Hellenistic towns, the Sanhedrim, the Priesthood and the Temple Cultus, Pharisees and Sadducees, School and Synagogue, Life under the Law, the Messianic Hope, the Essenes, the Jews in the Dispersion, and the Jewish Literature, Palestinian and Hellenistic. These subjects are of vital importance to the Biblical student, and Schürer's work is the only one that gives a comprehensive and accurate survey of the whole field. No rival publication has appeared since this was first issued in 1874, and the doubling of the material in the new edition has not produced any deterioration in quality. To Biblical scholars Schürer's critical acumen and breadth and accuracy of scholarship are well known, and all will admit that it is seldom that a work which embodies the first thorough treatment of a new field of investigation is so uniformly excellent and satisfactory from the first page to the last.

The publication of such a work at the present time is a special boon, because so many are studying with eager interest the historical setting of the lives and teaching of our Lord and his apostles. The conviction, already strong, is fast gaining ground, that we can never understand the New Testament until we know intimately and exhaustively the age in which it was produced. Something has already been done toward the gaining of this knowledge. We have at least proved the inadequacy of our information on many points, and this fact, together with the conviction, already alluded to, that accurate knowledge of Jewish life in all its features is an indispensable aid to the correct interpretation of the New Testament, is a constant stimulus to investigation. By all those engaged in such research Schürer's work will be welcomed as an invaluable help. It does not, to be sure, directly attempt the solution of New Testament problems, but it is a thesaurus of materials, without which their solution is impossible. The most important characteristic of the work is the fact that the reader is introduced to the original sources of information. Every chapter contains copious citations from the literature of the period. The facts are presented clearly and concisely, and are allowed to speak for themselves. The work is valuable, then, because it covers a new and very important field, and because of its judicious method and the comprehensiveness, painstaking, and candor with which the theme is

elaborated. I indorse most heartily the following estimate from a recent review : —

"We are not afraid to venture the statement that there is no other theological work in existence that presents an examination and analysis of the non-biblical records of the New Testament times as do the volumes of Schürer."

Perhaps no chapter in the whole volume is so rich as that of 50 pages on the Messianic Hope. It vividly depicts the development of the doctrine of the Messiah in the centuries intervening between the Old and New Testaments, and records the current opinions of our Lord's day with reference to Elijah as forerunner, the advent of the Messiah, the final onset of the hostile powers and their annihilation, the renovation of Jerusalem, the gathering of the dispersed, the kingdom of glory in Palestine, the renovation of the world, the general resurrection, the last judgment, eternal blessedness and damnation, and the suffering Messiah. While it is hardly necessary to state that the ideas here presented are in many points divergent from those which Jesus taught and exemplified, the necessity of thorough knowledge of the current Messianic expectation cannot be too strongly emphasized as a means of penetrating into the real significance of our Lord's life and teaching. No one can assimilate the contents of this one chapter without gaining fresh insight into the Gospel story and perceiving a profounder meaning in nearly all that Jesus said and did.

To say that the translation is better than that of many theological works still leaves much to be desired. Sometimes it suffers from excessive literalness, and sometimes unnecessary departures from the exact phraseology of the original have made the rendering clumsy and vague. In the main, however, the sense has been reproduced with sufficient accuracy to preclude gross misunderstanding. Some exceptions to this have been noted, as in vol. ii., page 14, where "Sie behaupten, dass alles durch das Geschick vollbracht werde" is rendered, "They assert that everything is accomplished by faith;" page 16, where "vermittelnde Ansicht" appears as "interposing inspection;" and page 27, where "between them and their two opposite pursuits" is the rendering of "zwischen beiden Bestrebungen." In spite of occasional serious defects, the translation of this work ought to be in the hands of every Biblical student who cannot read it in the original.

Typographically both the German and the English are excellent. The third and final volume of the translation of the second division of the work is published.

F. E. Woodruff.

THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES AND THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. By J. RENDEL HARRIS, Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge. Cambridge: H. W. Wallis. 1885. 8vo, pp. 36.

THE value of this little book stands in strong contrast with its meagre size. It presents us with a careful comparison of the language of "The Teaching" with that of certain parts of the Sibylline books, and the Pseudo-Phocylides. To this, several appendices dealing with interesting points in the interpretation or early use of "The Teaching" are attached. To speak of these appendices first: The first of them points out that after the prayers in the Didache had otherwise passed out of use they appear to have been retained in use at the daily meal of communities of

virgins (Pseudo-Athanasius' *De Virginitate* in Migne, xxviii. 265, 268). This favors the view which was suggested by Sabatier's investigations that these prayers were not specifically eucharistic prayers, but rather belonged to the meals of the Christians in general, and are in the *Didache* attached, on that account, to the *Agapae*. The value of the statements quoted from the Acts of John in the second appendix, towards showing that chapters i.-vi. can scarcely represent the teaching given to catechumens preparatory for baptism, is lessened by the fact that they all come from Prochorus, who is not only late, but also apparently a romancer rather than traditionalist. They prove, however, that in his day a teaching concerning Father, Son, and Holy Ghost preceded baptism. The use of *Xáρις* as a name of Christ — a usage which may well have grown up from a misuse of Titus ii. 11 (or 1 Peter i. 13) — is traced in the third appendix; and the meaning of *Maranatha* is investigated in the fourth, — with the result of supporting the view which holds that it means "The Lord has come." The last appendix traces the sign of the truth which the *Didachographer* calls *ἐκπέρασις* through early Christian literature, showing that it was understood of the appearance of the cross in the heavens.

Interesting and helpful as these appendices are, they must yield in importance to the main body of the book. Mr. Harris sets forth some thirty-three parallels with the *Didache*, taken from the *Sibyllines* and *Pseudo-Phocylides*. These, of course, differ in directness and importance among themselves. In my judgment, the following remarks may be made with regard to them: (1.) All the parallels that are adduced with the title and with i. 1 and 2 of the *Didache* are too uncertain to allow any stress to be laid upon them. (2.) All of the important parallels are confined to chapters i.-vi. of the *Didache*. In the case of only two parallels derived from later chapters do I feel any hesitation in laying them aside at once. These are: *Did.* xvi. 5 = *Sibyl.* iii. 86, where, however, the main matter comes either directly or indirectly, through *Sibyl.* viii. 412, from *Malachi* iii. 3, and the whole resemblance to the *Didache* turns on the use of the word *κρίσις* in this context. And *Did.* xii. 3 = *Pseudo-Phocylides*, 154 *sq.*, which is very striking and not unlikely to be a genuine adoption of words by the later writer from the earlier. (3.) The important parallels are confined to the second *Sibylline* book and the *Pseudo-Phocylides*. Doubt here attaches only to *Did.* ii. 4 = *Sibyl.* iii. 37 *sq.* — a very striking parallel. And if this be judged genuine, a certain additional probability is thrown on the parallel, *Did.* xvi. 5 = *Sibyl.* iii. 86, that was mentioned above. (4.) That the author of the *Pseudo-Phocylides* had our chapters i.-vi. before him I cannot think can be doubted; nor that the author of the second book of the *Sibyllines* not only had *Pseudo-Phocylides*, but also the "Two Ways" itself.

The close relationship of *Pseudo-Phocylides* to the "Two Ways" appears to have been first noted by H. Werner in his edition of Bernay's "Gesammelte Abhandlungen," 1885 (Preface, p. 5 *sq.*), and was acknowledged by A. Harnack in the "Theologische Literaturzeitung," 1885, 7, 160. Sabatier's words in "La *Didache*," etc., p. 51, notes 78 and 79, appear to rest on an independent observation of the same phenomenon. Mr. Harris's service consists in pointing out the literary parallels in detail. I cannot see how any one who will attentively observe the relation of the *Didache* iv. 5-8, for instance, to *Pseudo-Phoc.*, lines 22

and 23, 28 *sq.*, or of Did. iii. 1, 2, to Pseudo-Phoc., lines 76, 57, 63, or of Did. ii. 2-5, to Pseudo-Phoc., lines 3, 4 [149, 184], 16, 12, 7, 4, — can doubt that borrowing has taken place, or who was the borrower. This will, of course, force us to return to Scaliger's opinion that the poem is the work of "ἀνωρίμων Christiani;" and both Harnack and Harris now point out internal evidences that such is the fact, and others could readily be added to what they have adduced. When we ask when this anonymous Christian wrote, I see no reason why we should not say early in the second century. Stobaeus is the first to cite him; the second book of the Sibyllines the first to use his work; and, in my judgment, the first six chapters of the Didache which he has used are in their very warp and woof Christian and not Jewish, and are built upon Matthew's Gospel, as Dr. Caspari has truly recognized. The text of the Didache that was used by the Pseudo-Phocylides was apparently of that type which I have elsewhere called the Egyptian, and from which Barnabas and the Canons drew, and the Latin version was made.

The second book of the Sibylline Oracles used what I have called the Syrian text and knew Did. i. 3-ii. 1, which is lacking in the other text, and of which the Pseudo-Phocylides drops no hint. It even alters the Pseudo-Phocylides (line 23) so as to introduce (ii. 77) a hint of Did. i. 6, and thus gives us our earliest trace of the existence of that enigmatical verse. Neither the Pseudo-Phocylides nor the Sibyllines prove to be of much help in the textual criticism of the Didache, — unless we judge that the ἀπέχεσθαι of the former points to λίσαν πρόσχε in Did. vi. 3, as the true reading, instead of the φεύγε, which is read here by the Constitutions.

Another series of quotations from "The Teaching," which Mr. Harris has buried in a foot-note (p. 15), is too important not to be dragged from that obscure lurking-place. These are found in the tract of doubtful age, "Syntagma Doctrinae," printed with Athanasius' works. Their importance consists in this: They are apparently drawn from "The Teaching" itself, as the preservation of διὰ παντός, for instance, in column 840 (from Did. iii. 8), which appears to be preserved in no other source but the Bryennios MS. itself, goes to show; and yet the text they have drawn from stands in the very closest relation to that used by the Canons. This latter fact may be observed most pointedly in the quotation in column 836. Here not only does the writer pass immediately from i. 2 (where his words have been deflected into nearer agreement with Deut. vi. 4) over to ii. 2, thus omitting, with Barnabas and the Latin, the Canons [and the Pseudo-Phocylides], the section i. 3-ii. 1; but, what is of more importance, he gives the sins with which ii. 2 opens in the exact order in which they occur in the Canons and nowhere else. So far as the post-positing of pæderasty is concerned, Barnabas and Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* ii. 89) come also to their support; and the question becomes a very difficult one whether murder, adultery, fornication and pæderasty be not the original order. At all events, here is another witness to my Egyptian text.

It is with the greatest personal satisfaction that I observe that every new discovery concerning the Didache and its use in the church falls naturally in with the partition of the documents which I have repeatedly proposed into two great classes: One, the relatively oldest and purest, represented by Barnabas, the Canons, the Latin and its followers, and now we see, also, by the Pseudo-Phocylides and the Pseudo-Athanasius; and the other by the Bryennios MS. and the Constitutions, and now, as

we see, by the second book of the Sibyllines. The whole Didache problem takes a different aspect when this fact is recognized, and becomes at once easier and more hopeful.

Benjamin B. Warfield.

ALLEGHENY, PA.

PERSIA, THE LAND OF THE IMAMS. A Narrative of Travel and Residence; 1871-1885. By JAMES BASSETT, Missionary of the Presbyterian Board. 16mo. Pp. xvii., 342. 1886. \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This book does not bring Persia before us, in its outer aspect and its inner life, in the well-massed vividness of Mr. Benjamin's letters. The style has no special charm, and the descriptions incline to be confused and monotonous, the more so from assuming a good many things as familiar to the reader which are only familiar to the writer. But, though the details are broken, the same general impression comes out distinctly in both writers, as does the mighty cone of Demavend, towering above Teheran, though so much more dimly in the one than in the other. And Mr. Bassett, of course, knows Persia more completely on all its sides. Both give us to see a land of endless deserts and mountain-chains, but bursting out, wherever the touch of water comes, into magical beauty and fertility, radiant with roses, and musical with nightingales, with the usual abatements which every one who has lived in a terrestrial paradise knows how to make for himself. Mr. Benjamin, the ambassador, naturally gives us a brighter picture, drawn from the homes of the great; Mr. Bassett, the missionary, a more lowering one, reflecting the discouragements of the poor. Both show us a country wretchedly misgoverned, as every Moslem country is, was, and ever will be; but Mr. Bassett represents it as steadily and unequivocally declining in wealth and in industrial skill. Yet we have seen it declared that within twenty years agriculture, the foundation of everything, has largely advanced. Who can decide the point, in a country where a census would almost certainly be a cheat?

But any picture of Persia is less wretchedly depressing than one of Turkey. The Persians are Aryans, of a peculiarly vivacious temperament and imagination, and the Turanian races of the country are neither oppressors nor oppressed, but, as here shown, easily melt into the ruling stock, being of the same religion. Thus the nation is homogeneous and indigenous, and the mightiest revolutions of religion and government have not permanently broken its continuousness. The Persian of to-day is the true countryman of Darius. Christians and Jews, it is true, and the few remaining adherents of the once illustrious creed of Zoroaster, are as much oppressed as they would be by Islam anywhere, but they make up altogether only one hundred and thirty thousand out of five millions, or ten millions, as you choose to accept the higher or the lower estimate. Thus Persia is a true nation, working out its own destiny. According to another traveler, this destiny is a matter of universal discussion among the Persians, all agreeing that they are to be swallowed up by Christendom, but differing as to whether they are to be absorbed by England or Russia. Unhappily the cave of the Scythian Cyclops is much the nearest.

Mr. Benjamin brings out the intense Moslem exclusiveness of the Persians, far exceeding even that of the Arabs, outside of Mecca, and making it certain death for one of another creed, were he of the very highest rank, to be seen in a mosque. Mr. Bassett, on the other hand, describes

the whole nation as honeycombed by religious uncertainty, and ready to throw off its acknowledged creed, like a rotten vestment, on slight occasion. The two representations are not at all inconsistent. So long as Islam is the foundation of public right, its fanaticism easily prevails, even though a general abjuration were impending. It is not probable that one is, but as the Mohammedanism of Persia — Aryan Mohammedanism — stands out from Shemitic and from Mongolian Mohammedanism, as the one deadly heresy of Islam, distinguished by its Aryan flexibility and endless mutability of form, so the modern sect of the Bab (which Mr. Bassett presents very distinctly, though only in its essential point) has threatened to lift it fairly off its feet, and launch it on a most uncertain course of pantheistic avatars. Mr. Bassett shows how this sect roots in the national doctrine of the Twelve Imams, or true successors of the Apostle of God, beginning with the gracious Ali, cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed, and ending with the expected Mahdi, who, among the Surmees of the Soudan, has appeared in an orthodox form, but who, in his true Iranian home, as the Bab, or Gate of God, has taken the extremest flight of heresy. Some have spoken well of this movement. It has, indeed, one excellent point — its revulsion against the Moslem contempt of woman, its dislike of female seclusion, and of polygamy and divorce. On the other hand, Mr. Bassett speaks of its odious cruelties. On the whole, it seems only a form of Persian Mohammedanism run wild, as Manichæism was a form of Persian Christianity run wild. The land of the Magi seems capable of seeking the light, but hardly capable of showing the light.

The main work of our missionaries has, of course, been among Nestorian and Armenian Christians. The development of the latter, both nationally and doctrinally, appears to have been much more of a piece, and of more decided outlines, than of the former. Indeed, Nestorian nationality is only an uncertain reflection of a wavering ecclesiastical unity; while Armenian ecclesiastical unity is the religious side of a strong and immemorially ancient nationality, that nation, which, clinging from of old to the roots of Ararat, was the first of all the nations to enter the Ark of the Church.

There is one question suggested by our author's description of the Armenian Church. It has been separated from both Constantinople and Rome since the council of Chalcedon, more than fourteen centuries. That its major and minor orders of the ministry are the same as those of the Greek and Latin churches is a matter of course, as these were early developed. But Mr. Bassett declares that its doctrine of the Eucharist is unequivocally a doctrine of Transubstantiation. Is this because the Eucharist was so defined before the Chalcedonian schism, or because the common Catholicism (not materially aberrant in its Euty-chian channel) has arrived everywhere at the same results, or has there been a doctrinal endosmosis from Rome, such as the Greek Church shows in completing the doctrine of the Canon?

We must not overlook our author's vivid and detailed description of the golden shrines and awful holiness of Mashhad, the mausoleum of the martyr Imam Reza, and the very cynosure of Persian devotion.

The volume closes with a cordial acknowledgment of Mr. Benjamin's valuable services to the Presbyterian Mission, as our national representative near the Shah.

Charles C. Starbuck.

SAINT GREGORY'S GUEST AND RECENT POEMS. BY JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER. 16mo, pp. 66. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886. \$1.00.
 VERSES, TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GERMAN, AND HYMNS. BY W. H. FURNESS. 16mo, pp. iv., 88. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886. \$1.25.

It is so unusual in Mr. Whittier to give the world anything for which it has no demand, that the gift of an apology in the preface of his latest volume is the occasion among his friends for a good-natured smile at his expense. Mr. Whittier says he is an old man, and perhaps he is, if we count the time by years; certainly he is, if we count it by achievement. But the poet that is in him, that is, the man himself, seems so endowed with perennial youth, that a time calculation is of small account.

Readers do not tire of the sturdier forms of New England poetry, of which he and a few others among us are still the representatives. When epigrams and sonnets, quatrains and rondeaus; when experiments in fancy and sound, with their bubble and foam, and their vast pains bestowed upon technique, remind one of the Alexandrian rhetoricians and reveal a significant tendency in American verse, it is a pleasure to behold the few older names remaining like rocks steadfast in the current.

Of the eighteen poems here presented the greater number have appeared in the "*Atlantic Monthly*" and elsewhere. They are written in simple metres, and on themes which have long been favorites with Mr. Whittier's muse. They are characterized by the same earnest spirit, the same love of home and humanity, the same sympathy with the oppressed, which distinguish his other writings; and by the same spirituality and insight which give him a just claim to the title of seer.

The poem entitled "Adjustment," which was printed originally in the "*Andover Review*," seems easily to hold the first place in this collection; unless, in some minds, the palm is disputed by the half dozen lines on Dr. Mulford. The name of the man who writes poems like these will be among the few to remain when the cloud of minor reputations now hovering over our magazines and printing-presses shall vanish away, and

"Leave, free of mist, the permanent stars behind."

In "*The Song of the Bell*," which stands first in Dr. Furness's collection, we have an admirable rendering of Schiller's famous poem. This is followed by Chamisso's "*Woman's Love and Life*," with its nine divisions. Of the remaining sixteen translations eleven are from Uhland and two from Heine.

When every one has his own theory as to what a translation should be, it is idle to criticise too closely. But now and then the sensitive ear comes upon a line in which Dr. Furness seems to have made too great a sacrifice of the rhythm to the literalness of the rendering.

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We may add that both of these little volumes are dainty specimens of the bookmaker's art.

Samuel V. Cole.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Boston. The Seven Laws of Teaching. By John M. Gregory, LL. D., ex-Commissioner of the Civil Service of the United States, and ex-President of the State University of Illinois. Pp. viii., 144; — Dick and his Song. By Emily Frances. Pp. 65; — Bible Studies for Normal Classes, Assemblies, Bible Students, and Sunday-School Teachers. By Rev. A. E. Dunning. Pp. 102. 1886.

Cupples, Upham & Co., Boston. The Mystery of Pain. By James Hinton, M. D., author of "Life in Nature," "Man and his Dwelling-Place," etc. With an Introduction by James R. Nichols, M. D., author of "Whence? What? Where?" etc. 16mo, pp. vii., 121. 1886. \$1.00; — The Optimism of Ralph Waldo Emerson. By William F. Dana. Pp. 64. 1886. 50 cents; — Plain Words on Our Lord's Work. By the Rev. D. N. Beach. Pp. 57. 1886.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. The Synthetic Philosophy of Expression as applied to the Arts of Reading, Oratory, and Personation. By Moses True Brown, M. A., Principal of the Boston School of Oratory, and Professor of Oratory at Tufts College. 16mo, pp. viii., 297. 1886. \$2.00.

Roberts Brothers, Boston. Baldwin: being Dialogues on Views and Aspirations. By Vernon Lee, author of "Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy," "Euphorion," etc. 12mo, pp. 375. 1886. \$2.00; — India Revisited. By Edwin Arnold, M. A., C. S. I., author of "The Light of Asia," etc., etc. Author's Edition. 12mo, pp. 324. 1886. \$2.00; — Justina. No Name Series. 16mo, pp. 249. 1886. \$1.00; — Constance of Acadia. A Novel. 12mo, pp. vi., 361. 1886. \$1.50.

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Benj. R. Tucker, Boston. What's To Be Done? By N. G. Tchermynchewsky. Pp. 238. 1886. \$1.00.

The American Sabbath Tract Society, Alfred Centre, New York. A Critical History of the Sabbath and the Sunday in the Christian Church. By A. H. Lewis, D. D., author of "Sabbath and Sunday; Argument and History," "Biblical Teachings concerning the Sabbath and the Sunday;" Editor of "The Outlook and Sabbath Quarterly," and of "The Light of Home." 16mo, pp. vi., 583. 1886. \$1.25.

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From Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries, Trenton, New Jersey. Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries of New Jersey. For the year ending October 31, 1885. Pp. xxxvi., 422. 1885.

Daniel Miller, Reading, Pa. Recollections of College Life at Marshall College, Mercersburg, Pa., from 1839 to 1845. A Narrative with Reflections. By Rev. Theodore Appel, D. D., Lancaster, Pa. 16mo, pp. viii, 348. 1886. \$1.25.

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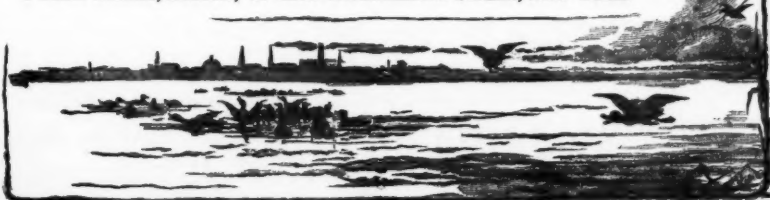
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